This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

+ *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.

+ *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.

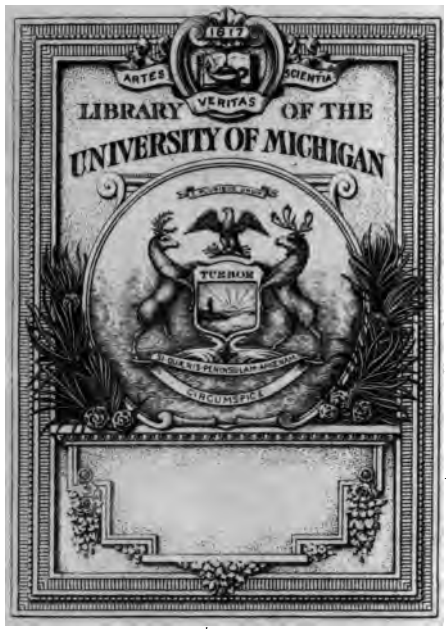
+ *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.

+ *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at `http://books.google.com/`

B 1,488,029



RECEIVED IN EXCHANGE
FROM
Wm.L.Clements Library

THE

Parliamentary Regiſter;

OR,

HISTORY

OF THE

PROCEEDINGS AND DEBATES

OF THE

HOUSE OF COMMONS;

CONTAINING AN ACCOUNT OF

The moſt intereſting SPEECHES and MOTIONS; accurate Copies of the moſt remarkable LETTERS and PAPERS; of the moſt material EVIDENCE, PETITIONS, &c. laid before and offered to the Houſe,

DURING THE

FOURTH SESSION of the FOURTEENTH PARLIAMENT

OF

GREAT BRITAIN.

IN SEVENTEEN VOLUMES.

VOL. VIII.

LONDON:

Reprinted for JOHN STOCKDALE, PICCADILLY;
J. WALKER, R. LEA, & J. NUNN.

M,DCCC,II.

T. Bensley, Printer, Bolt Court, Fleet Street, London.

Newman 1840

George Purling.

J
301
H23
cop. 2
v.8

BUILDING
USE ONLY

UNIVER

THE

Parliamentary Regiſter;

OR,

HISTORY

OF THE

PROCEEDINGS AND DEBATES

OF THE

HOUSE OF COMMONS;

CONTAINING AN ACCOUNT OF

The moſt intereſting SPEECHES and MOTIONS; accurate Copies of the moſt remarkable LETTERS and PAPERS; of the moſt material EVIDENCE, PETITIONS, &c. laid before and offered to the Houſe,

DURING THE

FOURTH SESSION of the FOURTEENTH PARLIAMENT

OF

GREAT BRITAIN.

IN SEVENTEEN VOLUMES.

VOL. VIII.

LONDON:

Reprinted for JOHN STOCKDALE, PICCADILLY;
J. WALKER, R. LEA, & J. NUNN.

M,DCCC,II.

Pitt-
Wm K. Clements Lib
10-21-38

THE HISTORY

OF THE

PROCEEDINGS and DEBATES

Of the FOURTH SESSION of the

HOUSE OF COMMONS

OF THE

Fourteenth Parliament of *Great-Britain*;

Appointed to be held at Weſtminſter, on Thurſday the 18th day of November 1777.

February 5.

THE report of the committee of ſupply for the new levies. Mr. *Popham* oppoſed the bringing up the report, contending upon the law argument, that the *manner* in which the troops had been raiſed was unconſtitutional and illegal.

Mr. *Turner* ſpoke next, declaring that his life and fortune ſhould ever be devoted to his Majeſty's perſon and government, becauſe he thought it impoſſible that a prince of the Houſe of Hanover ſhould ever become hoſtile to liberty, or violate the laws and conſtitution in any ſhape whatever.

Mr. *Rous* thought the ſubſcriptions illegal, but that the rebellion ought to be quelled by any means whatever; he ſhould therefore vote for the ſupply of the levies, though raiſed againſt law.

Mr. *Wallace* ſaid, that though, to be ſure, it was againſt law for the King to levy money, yet it was perfectly conſonant to law for his Majeſty to get money levied for him.

Lord *Frederick Campbell* maintained, that the principles of his family were always thoſe of whigiſm; and he thought ſubſcriptions for quelling the American rebellion perfectly conſiſted with whigiſh principles.

Mr. *Moyſey* declared himſelf ſatisfied of the legality of ſuch ſubſcriptions, being, as they were, purely voluntary; that Lord Coke's opinion was clearly in their favour, as appears by his reading upon the ſtatute of Rich. III. where he makes the diſtinction between voluntary and involuntary contributions, in his chapter of Benevolences, which had not been taken notice of. That the commiſſion authoriſed by the ſtatute of Cha. II.

ſo much relied on by the other ſide, was compulſory in its nature, as appears by the proceedings under ſuch commiſſions in the time of Charles I. and in particular by the deſcription given of them by Sir John Elliot, in his famous petition to the King from the Gatehouſe, in 1626; that the terms of the act of Charles II. prove compulſion, for the words, "ſupplies hereby granted," are irreconcileable to any other conſtruction, and are of themſelves deciſive of the queſtion; for if the money thereby raiſed was purely ſpontaneous on the part of the people, the Commons in Parliament, in ſuch caſe, granted nothing; nor was the King ſure of receiving a ſingle farthing under ſuch act of parliament.

Governor *Johnſtone* contended for the illegality of the ſubſcription; expatiated on the injuſtice the old officers muſt ſuſtain by having ſo many young ones put over their heads; and that in the ſame proportion as the new levies were raiſed the recruiting ſervice, as to the old regiments, muſt be prejudiced. He particularly lamented that ſo vaſt a proportion of theſe new levies was to be raiſed in Scotland, becauſe the country muſt be ſtripped of its moſt uſeful hands for agriculture and for commerce.

Lord *North* contended, that the preſent ſubſcriptions were no more than had been practiſed in all times of public emergency, particularly in 1745, and in 1759, in Mr. Pitt's adminiſtration, when the new levies were raiſed by private ſubſcription; and the ſubſcribers, inſtead of being treated as violators of the law, were publicly and ſolemnly thanked by the then miniſter, Lord Chatham, and applauded by the public. He averred, that no influence whatſoever had been uſed, but that the offers all came as the ſpontaneous and generous effuſions of love and loyalty to the King, and as a teſtimony of their zeal to ſupport the legiſlature of Great Britain againſt the rebellion in America.

Sir *William Meredith* replied to Lord North, that it was unjuſt to give any ſanction to his own adminiſtration at the expence of the reputation of another; that Lord Chatham's conduct, which he repreſented to be the ſame as his own, was nothing like it; that the ſubſcriptions then were to raiſe recruits for old regiments which had ſuffered in the wars, which had been raiſed under the authority of Parliament, approved, voted, and for a long time paid by Parliament; whereas, in the preſent caſe, both the money had been levied, and the troops raiſed, during the ſitting of Parliament, without the conſent, knowledge, or any communication with Parliament whatever; that the precedent for his Lordſhip's conduct might be drawn

with more correctneſs from that of James the Second, who, on the Duke of Monmouth's landing in the Weſt, had adjourned the Parliament for the very purpoſe of levying the troops himſelf, without the interference of Parliament, in order to chooſe ſuch as were moſt attached to his perſon, and moſt likely to ſerve his purpoſes. He then went through the hiſtory of all benevolences, from the reign of Edward the Fourth, when they began, to the preſent time; that they had been ſuppreſſed by two acts of Parliament, which are now in force, and had been treated as unconſtitutional always, particularly in the reign of James the Firſt, when the King attempted to raiſe a ſubſcription in a manner exactly ſimilar to the preſent; namely, by ſending certain of his confidential ſervants to different parts of the kingdom to raiſe ſpontaneous and voluntary ſubſcriptions, unaccompanied with any circumſtance of force whatever. Mr. St. John, who was eſteemed the beſt conſtitutional lawyer in the kingdom, and afterwards Lord Chief Juſtice, oppoſed thoſe ſubſcriptions with great vehemence, and declared that the attempt to get money for the King's uſe in that way was a breach of his Majeſty's coronation oath, and an abetting of perjury in all thoſe who ſubſcribed. He ſaid it was a mark for a Bolingbroke, and a match for Richard the Second. Mr. St. John was proſecuted in the Star Chamber, and acquitted; ſo that there is the judgment of the Star Chamber itſelf, the moſt arbitrary and the moſt tyrannous court that ever exiſted, that reſiſtance to ſuch ſubſcriptions, by any means, or in any language, is not reprehenſible; which opinion they could never have entertained, had they judged the ſubſcriptions themſelves to have been legal.

Mr. *Gaſcoigne* was entering into ſome perſonal invective againſt Sir William Meredith, but the Speaker ſtopped him, which Sir William Meredith, in reply, ſaid, he was ſorry for, becauſe the more that honourable gentleman abuſed him, the better he thought of himſelf; that the effuſions of his eloquence were incapable of the guilt of ſlander; they were, on the contrary, ſatisfactory and reputable.

The queſtion was called for, and the Houſe divided; for agreeing with the report 223, againſt it 130*.

February 6.

Mr. *Burke* moved, "That an humble addreſs be preſented to his Majeſty, that he will be graciouſly pleaſed to give direc-

* So large a minority upon a queſtion of ſupply was thought extraordinary, it having been commonly obſerved, that queſtions of ſupply are uſually carried unanimouſly, or but weakly reſiſted.

tions, that there be laid before this Houſe copies of all papers that have paſſed between any of his Majeſty's miniſters and the generals of his armies in America, or any perſon acting for government in Indian affairs, relative to the military employment of the Indians of America, in the preſent civil war, from the firſt of March 1774 to the firſt of January 1778."

Mr. Burke began by obſerving, that one of the grand objects in the inquiry into the ſtate of the nation was, the condition and quality of the troops employed in America. That an account of the King's regular forces, and thoſe of his European allies, were upon the table. That hitherto no account had appeared of his irregular forces, thoſe in particular of his ſavage allies; although there had been great dependence upon them, and that they were obtained at a great expence. That it was neceſſary to examine into this point; becauſe an extenſion of their mode of making war had been lately ſtrenuouſly recommended. The prevailing idea was, that in the next campaign, the plans hitherto purſued were to be abandoned, and a war of diſtreſs and intimidation was to take place of a war of conqueſt, which had been found impracticable.

He obſerved, that this mode of war had been hitherto tried upon a large ſcale; and the ſucceſs which hitherto had attended it would beſt prove how far it would be proper to extend it to all our troops, and all our operations; that if it did not promiſe to be very deciſive, as a plan merely military, it could be attended with no collateral advantages to our reputation as a civiliſed people, or to our policy in reconciling the minds of the colonies to his Majeſty's government.

He then ſtated what a war by Indians was. That the fault of employing them did not conſiſt in their being of one colour or another; in their uſing one kind of weapon or another; but in their way of making war, which was ſo horrible that it ſhocked not only the manners of all civiliſed people, but far exceeded the ferocity of all barbarians mentioned in hiſtory.

That the Indians in North America never have but two principal objects for going to war: the glory of deſtroying, or, when opportunity offered, of exterminating their enemies; the other, which always depended on the former, the glory of procuring the greateſt number of ſcalps, which they hung up in their huts as trophies of victory, conqueſt, and perſonal proweſs, much in the ſame manner that ſtandards, kettle-drums, and colours, are depoſited in public places in civiliſed nations, in token of ſome ſignal overthrow of a powerful and dangerous enemy. The Indians of America had no titles, ſinecure places, lucrative governments, penſions, or red ribbons, to beſtow

ſtow on thoſe who ſignaliſed themſelves in the field; their rewards were generally received in human ſcalps, in human fleſh, and the gratifications ariſing from torturing, mangling, ſcalping, and ſometimes eating, their captives in war. He then repeated ſeveral inſtances of this diabolical mode of war ſcarcely credible, and, if true, improper to be repeated.

He went largely into the proofs of this their mode of making war in all times. He proved, that they had not altered that mode of making war; and that no poſſible means could prevail on them to alter it. He then took a view of the employment of theſe ſavages in the wars between France and England, and ſhewed, that it had been the inevitable conſequence of the connexion of the two nations with the ſeveral Indian tribes, who, on the firſt European ſettlements, were, comparatively, great and powerful ſtates; that alliances had been formed with them, and all our affairs became neceſſarily entangled with theirs. But now no European nation but the Engliſh colonies remained in North America; and the ſavages were ſo reduced in number, that there was no neceſſity of any connexion with them as nations. They were only formidable from their cruelty; and to employ them was merely to be cruel ourſelves in their perſons, and to become chargeable with all the odious and impotent barbarities which they would certainly commit whenever they were called into action.

On all theſe points he dwelt a long time, explaining and illuſtrating every particular with great clearneſs and preciſion. He then conſidered the apologies which had been made for employing them; ſuch as, 1ſt, "That if his Majeſty had not employed them the rebels would; 2d, and that great care had been taken to prevent the indiſcriminate murder of men, women, and children, according to their ſavage cuſtom; 3d, That they were never employed but in the company of diſciplined troops, in order to prevent their irregularities."

To the firſt he anſwered, that no proof whatever had been given of the Americans having attempted an offenſive alliance with any one tribe of ſavage Indians; whereas, the imperfect papers already before that Houſe demonſtrated that the King's miniſters had negotiated and obtained ſuch alliances from one end of the continent of America to the other. That the Americans had actually made a treaty on the footing of neutrality with the famous Five Nations, which the King's miniſters had bribed them to violate, and to act offenſively againſt the colonies. That no attempt had been made, in a ſingle inſtance on the part of the King's miniſters, to

procure a neutrality. That if the fact had been that the Americans had actually employed thoſe ſavages, yet the difference of employing them againſt armed and trained ſoldiers, embodied and encamped, and employing them againſt the unarmed and defenceleſs men, women, and children, of a country, diſperſed in their houſes, was manifeſt, and left thoſe who attempted ſo inhuman and unequal a retaliation without excuſe.

To the ſecond defence, "That care had been taken to prevent miſchief," he anſwered, that he did not doubt the humanity of General Burgoyne and our other officers. They endeavoured it indeed, but in vain. He even ſtated the attempt itſelf as perfectly ridiculous. Here he entered into the conſideration of General Burgoyne's famous ſpeech to the ſavages, which he painted in a ludicrous light, not condemning the ſpeech in itſelf; he ſaid it was rational and proper, if applied to any other; but as applied to ſavages, to whom it muſt be perfectly unintelligible and without the leaſt effect, it might as well have been applied to the wild beaſts of the foreſt. He then entered into many particulars of that General's expedition, as well as Colonel St. Leger's, to ſhew, that the ſavages did, in effect, indiſcriminately murder men, women, and children, friends and foes; and that particularly the ſlaughter fell moſtly upon thoſe who were beſt affected to the King's government, and who for that reaſon had been lately diſarmed by the provincials. Here he painted, in very ſtrong colours, the horrid ſtory of Miſs Mac Ray, murdered by the ſavages on the day of her marriage with an officer of the King's troops.

As to the third head of defence, "That they had always regular troops to reſtrain and direct them," this he poſitively denied, and ſhewed, that whole nations of ſavages had been bribed to take up the hatchet, without a ſingle regular officer or ſoldier amongſt them. This he inſtanced in the caſe of the Cherokees, who were bribed and betrayed into war upon promiſe of being aſſiſted by a large regular force; that they accordingly had invaded Carolina in their uſual manner, and, for want of the ſupport promiſed, were nearly exterminated, and the remains of that people now lived in a ſtate of ſervitude to the Carolinians.

He then ſhewed the monſtrous expence of that kind of ally; that one Indian ſoldier coſt as much as five of the beſt regular or irregular European troops. The miniſters thought that inhumanity and murder could not be bought too dear.

That

That the expence of theſe Indians had not been leſs than 150,000l. and yet there never had been more than ſeven or eight hundred of them in the field, and that for a very ſhort time. That on the leaſt appearance of ill ſucceſs they deſerted, and often even turned their arms on their friends. That by falling upon all the inhabitants without diſtinction, they made every man a ſoldier; and that the greateſt part of the army (as it were conjured up againſt General Burgoyne) was raiſed by indignation and horror at the uſe of the ſavages; and to them the loſs of a gallant European army under an accompliſhed general was principally owing.

After this he touched upon the burning of the towns of Falmouth and Norfolk, as well as private gentlemen's and farmers' houſes, and other ravages of the King's troops, as parts of the war of diſtreſs, and the ill effects which ſuch barbarities had produced.

He laſtly entered upon Lord Dunmore's attempt to incite an inſurrection of negroes. He ſtated his proclamation as contrary to the common and ſtatute law of this kingdom, as well as to the law of nations. He ſtated what an inſurrection of negroes was; the number of that ſort of men in Virginia and Maryland; the miſchiefs of ſetting a crew of fierce, foreign barbarians and ſlaves to judge which of their maſters were in rebellion, and which of their acts were or were not rebellious; the utter impoſſibility of containing them and keeping them in order was ſtated in a ſtrong manner. He appealed to all who knew the ſouthern colonies and Weſt Indies, what murders, rapes, and enormities of all kinds, were in the contemplation of all negroes who meditated an inſurrection. He laſtly aſked what means were propoſed for governing theſe negroes, who were 100,000 at leaſt, when they had reduced the province to their obedience, and made themſelves maſters of the houſes, goods, wives, and daughters, of their murdered lords? Another war muſt be made of them, and another maſſacre, adding confuſion to confuſion; and deſtruction to deſtruction. He ſaid, that providentially the Engliſh white civiliſed inhabitants had ſo ſtrengthened themſelves as to keep under his Majeſty's negro allies; that not above one thouſand, or thereabouts, were able to eſcape, and put themſelves under the banners of Lord Dunmore; and that the end of theſe wretches, ſeduced into an inſurrection in which they were not ſupported, was truly deplorable, not above one or two, as he heard, having eſcaped a miſerable death by

diſeaſe or famine; but he promiſed to move for papers to clear up and aſcertain this point.

Then he dwelt on the affair of Lord Dunmore, becauſe his proceedings were evident by his proclamation, and by the negro army which he had collected; but that there was very ſtrong reaſon to believe that the governors of both the Carolinas, and one at leaſt of the Floridas, had been concerned in deſigns of the ſame ſort. That one of theſe governors had been accuſed of it, who did not deny, that in caſe of rebellion he would avail himſelf of ſuch a reſource. That this was the grand cauſe of the greater reſentment which appeared in the ſouthern than in many of the northern colonies, as they had been the firſt to abjure the King; and one of them, Virginia, to declare, that if the reſt ſhould ſubmit, they would hold out to the laſt: for what ſecurity could they receive that, if they admitted an Engliſh governor, he would not raiſe their negroes on them whenever he thought it good to aſſert any given diſturbances ſhould amount to a rebellion, and declare martial law.

The only remedy he conceived there could be for the alienation of affections, and diſtruſt and terror of our government, brought on by theſe meaſures, was for Parliament to inquire ſeriouſly into them; and to ſhew their diſapprobation of practices as contrary to all true policy as to the dictates of feeling and humanity; for otherwiſe the colonies would never believe that thoſe who were capable of carrying on ſo cruel and diſhonourable a war could ever be truſted for a ſound and cordial peace, much leſs be ſafely truſted with power and dominion.

The ſpeech laſted for more than three hours. It was univerſally thought the very beſt Mr. Burke had ever delivered.

Mr. Serjeant *Adair* ſeconded the motion.

Mr. *De Grey* (ſon to the chief juſtice) ſpoke in defence of employing the ſavages; ſaid, that Indian treaties had been made during the laſt war; that they had been continued from time to time down to the preſent hour; that it was well known that ſuperintendants were employed by government to create and preſerve alliances among the Indian nations; and, finally, that the Houſe every ſeſſion approved of and recognized thoſe alliances and treaties by voting ſpecific ſums of money, to be paid into the hands of the ſuperintendant, to be laid out in preſents, and diſtributed among the leading warriors and chiefs.

Sir

Sir *Alexander Leith* was ſevere on Lord George Germaine, who, he ſaid, was the ſole author and contriver of thoſe barbarous meaſures. He was aſtoniſhed that the noble Lord, conſidering ſeveral circumſtances which he abſtained from mentioning, could preſume to intrude himſelf into an office he was very unable and unqualified to fill; and he was ſtill much more aſtoniſhed that he dare continue in it, when his own experience muſt have long ſince convinced him that he was totally unworthy of it. He ſaid, every ſingle meaſure he had recommended himſelf, or adopted from others, exhibited ſo many proofs of his incapacity; and when his conduct was brought to the teſt, he affirmed, in his place, that the noble Lord would be found, in every reſpect, unequal to filling the high office, which he ſuppoſed he had uſurped. Here he was called to order by the Chair.

Lord *George Germaine* ſaid, he could never ſit ſilent, and hear ſuch unbecoming perſonalities made to his face. He begged leave to aſſure the honourable gentlemen, if they were ſincere, they muſt have aroſe from prejudice, and were ill-founded. He was a very old member of that Houſe; and he defied any gentleman to ſay, that he had ever uſed any perſonalities himſelf. He always carefully abſtained from them; and whatever his provocations to retort might be on the preſent occaſion, he ſhould give one more proof of the ſame mode of conducting himſelf. He ſaid, he wiſhed ſincerely that his conduct might be fully and immediately inquired into. He was certain it would turn out to his honour; but until that event took place, he thought it was both unparliamentary and uncandid to make perſonal attacks upon him, which he ſhould always, in future, look upon as meant to prejudice that Houſe againſt him. His Lordſhip then ſpoke ſhortly to the queſtion, and juſtified the conduct of adminiſtration. He ſaid the matter lay within a very narrow compaſs; the Indians would not have remained idle ſpectators; the very arguments uſed by the honourable gentleman who made the motion were ſo many proofs that they would not: beſides, the rebels, by their emiſſaries, had made frequent applications to the Indians to ſide with them; the Virginians particularly; and, he ſaid, that ſome Indians were employed at Boſton in the rebel army. Now, taking the diſpoſition of the Indians with the applications which had been made to them by the Colonies, it amounted to a clear, indiſputed propoſition, that either they would have ſerved againſt us, or that we muſt have employed them. This being the alternative, he contended

tended ſtrongly for the neceſſity of employing them, and was ready to ſubmit his conduct on that ground, to the judgment of the Houſe, whenever the meaſure and the motives which led to it came under diſcuſſion.

The Right Honourable *T. Townſhend* contended that the Houſe was not in poſſeſſion of any ſpecies of parliamentary proof whatever, to induce it to ſuppoſe that overtures had been made by the Congreſs to the Indian powers; on the contrary, from the beſt information, the fact was the direct reverſe. There had been a meeting between perſons on the part of the Colonies and the Indian chiefs, and there, it was well known, that all the deputies deſired was, a neutrality on the part of the Indians. One of the firſt public acts of the Congreſs beſides, was, a letter, addreſſed to the ſeveral Indian nations, in which they ſtated the utmoſt of their deſires to be no more than an acquieſcence in this neutrality; but granting the fact as ſtated by the noble Lord in its fulleſt extent to be true, it would not meet the main objection ſtated by the honourable gentleman who made the motion, which was, not that thoſe barbarities would be exerciſed on men with arms in their hands, or made captives in battle; but on innocent, peaceable people in their dwellings and habitations: unleſs therefore the noble Lord would make one ſuppoſition more, which was, that the ſlaves in the Southern Colonies, as well as the ſavages, would make a forced march over to Great Britain, and execute here what the two proclamations now read invited them to perpetrate in America, the pretence of employing them to murder old men, women, and children, inſtead of making war againſt their armed enemies, even in their uſual way, was entirely at an end. He then gave an account of Lacorne, and his method of acting, when he had the command of the Indians.

Governor *Pownall.* No man can have a more determined abhorrence of the employing the Indian ſavages in our wars, than I have; becauſe no man, in this Houſe at leaſt, has had occaſion to know ſo much of this matter, as it fell to my lot to have during the laſt war. My horror of their cruel ſervices does not ariſe from the paintings of imagination, but from what I have known of the fact: there is not ſo belliſh, ſo unfair an engine of war, as the ſervice of the Indian ſavage, when mixed in with the wars of civilized nations. What then muſt we think of it? What muſt be our feelings, when they are employed in a war between parts of the ſame nation, branches of the ſame family, in the war between us and our brethren.

The

The mutual feelings of humanity, and a ſpirit of honour, have, amidſt civilized nations, defined even rights, and given laws to a ſtate of war; have laid a reſtraint on havock, and given limits to deſtruction and bloodſhed. There are, even in rigours of war, the *jura belli*, which civilized nations have adopted, and do almoſt univerſally obſerve. The war of the ſavage, inſtead of being a conteſt of right by power, regulated and reſtrained by any feelings of honour or humanity, is an unreſtrained effuſion of the paſſions of revenge and bloodthirſtineſs, *eſt certare odiis*, is a war of univerſal ravage and devaſtation to utter deſtruction; inſtead of giving laws to war, it gives the name and effect of right to every cruel exertion of paſſion, revenge, and barbarity, *juſque datum ſceleri*. If, therefore, the Indians have ever, in this war, been employed in any caſe where an abſolute unavoidable and direct neceſſity did not call for it, nothing can ever juſtify it—I am ſure my opinion never ſhall. I conſider therefore the caſe of this American war; its operations are combined with the nature of the country, more than half a wilderneſs, and with the intereſts and nature of the Indians who inhabit this wilderneſs. No war can be carried on in that country in which the Indians will not mix. That belligerent power which hath not them with it, will have them againſt it. The idea of a neutrality is a deluſive notion, and impracticable in fact; and never was taken up by any party, but as a ſuccedaneum, to be tried after ſuch party had miſcarried in the attempt, to engage the Indians to act offenſively with them. Theſe were the politics of the French in the laſt war; after we had got the Indians from them, and engaged to us, their whole efforts were employed to engage the Indians to a neutrality. The ſame ſpirit of politics, on the ſame ground, led the Congreſs, in this war, (after they had failed in their attempt to engage confederated Indians,) to follow the plauſible line of neutrality in the temper of moderation and humanity. They are an informed, a wiſe, and a prudent body of men; all their conduct has been meaſured by the rules which wiſdom and prudence dictate; they, therefore, firſt tried to engage the Indians, knowing that there is an abſolute, unavoidable, and direct neceſſity of employing the Indians offenſively, and mixing them in with their arms and operations. Without referring to, or quoting the whole courſe of the French and Engliſh politics, in America, reſpecting this matter; and their various attempts to engage and ſecure the arms of the Indians to their reſpective party; I will inform the Houſe, that one and almoſt the ſole

purpoſe

purpoſe of the Congreſs of deputies from all the colonies in America, convened and held at Albany in 1754, was to perſuade and engage the Indians of the Five Nations and their allies to take up the hatchet (in aid of the Britiſh cauſe) againſt the French. So much for the ſpirit of American politics in this caſe. And, in conſequence of the abſolute unavoidable and direct neceſſity of ſuch meaſures, the inſtructions given laſt war uniformly by the ſeveral ſucceeding miniſters, to General Braddock, to General Shirley, to Lord Loudon, to General Abercrombie, and General Amherſt, were to this very purpoſe.

From ſeeing that the Indians muſt be employed; from ſeeing that the neceſſity was unavoidable; from feeling, at the ſame time, a horror of their being permitted to act their cruelties in violation of every idea of humanity, contrary to every principle of the law of nations, and the *jura belli* obſerved by civilized nations amongſt each other, it was, that, being in a ſituation which gave a right and power to do it, formed in conſultation and concert with my friend, Colonel, after Sir William Johnſon, the plan of Indian adminiſtration and eſtabliſhments, which put the Indians, when employed in conjunction with our troops, under ſuch a ſuperintendency and lead as might direct their operations, in conformity to the laws of nations and *jura belli*; the eſtabliſhment of the ſuperintendency; the forming the Indians into war companies; the getting war-leaders (by means agreeable to their own mode of chooſing them) appointed to command and conduct them; the forms of the commiſſions and inſtructions, were all ſettled at that time. From that period, I believe few, if any, of thoſe outrageous acts of cruelty and barbarity, before experienced, have been committed. In the year 1756, upon the appointment of Sir William Johnſon to be Colonel of the Six Nations, the Indians engaged to be employed under Lord Loudon were formed into four companies, with officers appointed over them. The forms of the commiſſions and inſtructions ſettled at that time were conſtantly obſerved during the whole of the laſt war: and upon my aſking the queſtion in office, I have been told that the ſame have been obſerved during this unhappy war. If any commander in chief has at any time been induced, from any ideas, different from this preventive ſyſtem, to give a looſe to that rein by which the ſavage ſpirit of the Indians was reſtrained; or, if any improper perſons have been employed, who have encouraged, or even permitted the Indians to in-

dulge

dulge their old ſavage cruelty, ſuch, I think, deſerve the moſt ſevere puniſhment. We ought firſt to inquire, whether the like eſtabliſhments have been obſerved; whether the like commiſſions and inſtructions have been iſſued in this war as in the laſt: we ought farther to inquire, whether any improper people have been employed? whether they have carried their command ſo as to encourage or permit any cruelties or ſavage rigours in the execution? We cannot condemn what from neceſſity has been a conſtant and invariable meaſure in the American warfare, that of employing Indians: but if any ſavage barbarities, contrary to the law of nations and the *jura belli*, have been committed, there our cenſure ought to fall; and in proportion as the fault riſes into criminality, that cenſure ought to be accompanied with puniſhment. So much, Sir, for what is paſt. If the Houſe will indulge me to ſpeak to arrangements, which I think might be taken for the future, reſpecting theſe Indian ſervices, I think the neceſſity of employing them may be avoided; I know, and therefore ſpeak directly, that any idea of an Indian neutrality is nonſenſe, is deluſive, dangerous nonſenſe; if both we and the Americans were agreed to obſerve a ſtrict neutrality in not employing them, they would then plunder and ſcalp both parties indiſcriminately on both ſides. Although this is my opinion, founded on the knowledge and experience I have had in theſe matters, yet I am perſuaded, that if we and the Americans could come to ſome ſtipulation, or convention, that we would mutually, and in one ſpirit of good faith, not ſuffer the Indians to intermeddle, but to conſider and act againſt them as enemies, wherever they did execute any hoſtilities againſt any of the Britiſh nation, equally, whether Engliſh or Americans, all this horrid buſineſs might be prevented, or at leaſt in great meaſure reſtrained. If government would in the true ſpirit and temper of humanity adopt this idea, and if Parliament would by any means find their way to give ſanction to it; if government, in this temper, and under this ſanction, would propoſe to the Congreſs the terms of ſuch a convention, I am certain, that the Congreſs would embrace it with ſincerity, and execute it with good faith. This is a meaſure that would have nothing to do with the object of the war; and yet this ſpirit, thus aiming to regulate the means of reſtraining its rigours and cruelty, might become the firſt ſeed of peace. This would open grounds that might lead to mutual good diſpoſitions and good offices; and who ſhall ſay what may not ariſe out of this; I think, that I ſee clearly,

ſuch

ſuch a beginning would end in peace; government will not commit any of its rights or intereſts in making the propoſal: the very making it would lay the grounds of agreement. [Here a mark of almoſt general approbation ſhowed itſelf by, *Hear him*, from all ſides of the Houſe.] I hail the happy omen; I think I ſee the ſpirit of peace ariſing in the Houſe, and may it animate all our breaſts. I am ſo confident that this meaſure would be adopted and ſucceed; and that it would finally lead to the opening a treaty for peace itſelf; that if government will take it up as a meaſure, and this Houſe give its ſanction to it, I will, without commiſſion, without pay, or the expectation of any reward whatſoever, go myſelf to the Congreſs, and make the propoſal: and though I take with me no commiſſion, by which government may be committed; yet if the propoſal is accepted and agreed to, I will find a way to give aſſurance to the Congreſs, that they may act on my propoſal; I will put myſelf into their hands as an hoſtage for the truth of what I propoſe, and for the good faith of government. On this ground I am ready to ſet out this moment. I feel not a little happy that what I have ſaid is well received by the Houſe; whether it will be accepted and adopted by government, I know not. I feel that I have done my duty.

Colonel *Barré* highly complimented Mr. Burke on his ſpeech, and hoped he would publiſh it, which if he did, he would go and nail it on every church-door, where he ſaw the King's proclamation for the Faſt. He ſhewed, from former tranſactions in the late war, how difficult it was for any general to keep the ſavages in any kind of order, eſpecially where the number of regulars was not ſufficient to overawe them. He mentioned an inſtance, in which he had the good fortune to preſerve the life of a priſoner, but that it was with the utmoſt difficulty and dexterity that he had accompliſhed it by ſtealing as it were the man from their hands, not by dint of diſcipline or threats.

He mentioned that in the late affair between Colonel St. Leger and General Harkener, near Fort Stanwix, that ſeveral of the General's men being taken priſoners, Sir John Johnſon, who commanded the ſavages, finding ſeveral of the priſoners, who, from his own knowledge, were not friends to the American cauſe, but forced into the ſervice, he ſeparated them from the reſt of the priſoners, putting them into a houſe, and telling the Indians, that they were his friends and

their

their perſons ſacred; and yet in the night the houſes were broke open, and thoſe very men maſſacred.

Hon. *James Luttrell* repeated Lord G. Germaine's words, "That if we were ſure the Americans would not employ the Indians, if we ceaſed to employ them, he ſhould certainly prefer neutrality to ſuch horrid maſſacre." Mr. Luttrell objected to giving miniſters the credit of preferring neutrality, when that neutrality was ſo evidently in their power to be acquired, not by application to the ſavages, but to the Americans; for if both ſides refuſed to pay for ſcalps, the Indians muſt prefer the ſelling of furs, veniſon, or wild fowl, to a human butchery, attended with infinite danger to themſelves, and no profit. That they might be employed as pilots and hunters, though he thought their ſhewing General Burgoyne the Hudſon's river had proved no advantage to this country. He could not conceive neutrality an abſurdity, becauſe it would imply, that the miniſter who ſtated it to the Houſe as a wiſe meaſure was ignorant and uninformed; and it was not common-ſenſe to ſay the Americans would not agree to it, when they are the ſufferers by the preſent employment of the ſavages. He wiſhed for the papers relative to negotiations with Indians, becauſe miniſterial aſſertions were not equal to parliamentary proof, and that their concealing the truth implied a fear of being juſtly cenſured for a want of humanity, diſgraceful to the character of the nation, and of putting this country to unneceſſary expence.

Governor *Johnſtone* expatiated on the bad policy of employing ſuch a banditti. He gave the higheſt compliments to Mr. Burke's oratory, and expreſſed himſelf happy that on this day ſtrangers were not admitted into the gallery, as it might have been to be feared that ſo great would have been their indignation at the two Lords [North and Germaine], and to ſuch a pitch of enthuſiaſm would they have been worked, that he ſhould have expected the Lords would have been torn in pieces by the people in the way to their houſes.

Mr. *Rigby* pretty ſtrongly declared, that there had been miſmanagement ſomewhere; that it ought to be inquired into, and the nation receive full ſatisfaction.

He vindicated the meaſure of employing the ſavages, and ſaid they might be kept in order, as there was an inſtance of General Amherſt having done it in the late war. [In this he alluded to a ſtory told by Colonel Barré, that General Amherſt had told the ſavages that for the future they ſhould not murder

murder any perſon; upon which 3000 of them left his camp the next night.]

Mr. Charles Fox obſerved, that the idea of the gentleman who ſpoke laſt, of keeping the ſavages in order, was exactly ſimilar to that of keeping the Americans ſo. That General Amherſt had loſt all his men as ſoon as he attempted it, as this nation had America. He proved, from the dates of the papers of the Congreſs, that the Americans had not entered into any treaty with the ſavages until ſome months after the date of the Engliſh treaty, and ſhewed, that to prove the fact was an additional reaſon for producing the papers. He likewiſe obſerved, that the tone of miniſters was greatly altered: formerly it was *God and Nature*; now it was ſimple *Neceſſity*.

Lord North ſaid, that he alſo was glad that no ſtrangers were admitted on this day, though for another reaſon, viz. leſt they ſhould be worked up into an indignation and horror againſt the gentlemen on the other ſide of the Houſe for declaring ſentiments ſo contrary to thoſe which the honour and dignity of the country demanded.

That, in reſpect to the employment of the ſavages, he looked on it as bad, but unavoidable; that they were of that nature, that if one ſide did not, they would enter immediately on the other.

That as to the negroes who were ſet at liberty from their maſters, and inſiſted to join our army, the proclamation of Lord Dunmore did not call on them to murder their maſters, as had been ſaid in the debate, but only to take up arms in defence of their ſovereign; but that he was willing Lord Dunmore's proclamation ſhould be laid on the table, that, if reprehenſible, it might be attended to.

That as to cruelty, he had been informed that ſeveral of the provincials had been hanged up, by a dozen at a time, for no other crime but that of driving their hogs or cattle to the Engliſh camp, which camp was not in any need of proviſions, having been completely furniſhed from the country with as much as would laſt them months; and therefore the proviſions intended to be brought in were for the uſe of the inhabitants of Philadelphia, not of the army. He called on the military gentlemen in the Houſe to declare if this proceeding was warranted by the rules of war of any nation whatever.

General Conway ſaid, that the noble Lord's queſtion could only be anſwered by the circumſtances of the thing. That when a town was beſieged or blockaded, and the General who commanded ſuch ſiege or blockade had hopes of ſucceſs by ſtarving the others, and ſhould then publiſh that no perſon

ſhould

ſhould bring in proviſions on pain of death, that a breach of ſuch orders would be ſo puniſhed, and the General excuſable; but if ſtorming the enemy was not the point aimed at, they ſeldom proceeded to ſuch extremities. That it was neceſſary to know the preciſe time when Waſhington had done this (if he had done it) as he believed there was a point of time when the army had not taken Mud-Iſland, and might be ſuppoſed to want proviſions.

Mr. *Gilbert* ſaid a few words againſt having the papers.

The Houſe divided, For the queſtion 137, againſt it 223.

Mr. *Burke* then moved, That an humble addreſs be preſented to his Majeſty, that he will be graciouſly pleaſed to give directions, that there be laid before this Houſe, copies of all treaties and conventions with the Indians of North America, and all meſſages, ſpeeches, and ſymbols, ſent by any perſons acting in his Majeſty's ſervice, or under their orders, from the 1ſt day of March 1774, ſo far as the ſame have been received. It paſſed in the negative.

That there be laid before this Houſe, an account of all money, arms, ammunition, ſtores, and the quantity, kind, and value, of goods, given to the ſaid Indians, or to any of them, or conſigned to any perſon to be given to them, or any of them, on account of his Majeſty, or any perſon employed in his or the public ſervice, from the firſt March 1774. It paſſed in the negative.

That there be laid before this Houſe, an account of the numbers, nations, and names of chiefs, of the American Indians, who have been in arms againſt the colonies in North America, ſince 1ſt March 1774; as alſo of thoſe who have acted in his Majeſty's armies, with their ſtate and numbers, as by the laſt returns, and where employed. It paſſed in the negative.

That there be laid before this Houſe, an account of the number of Negroes of Virginia, who have repaired to his Majeſty's ſtandard, from the 1ſt of March 1774, and the corps which they formed or were embodied in, together with the names of the officers commanding the ſaid corps, and ſerving therein; as alſo their number and condition, as by the laſt return. It paſſed in the negative.

That an humble addreſs be preſented to his Majeſty, that he will be graciouſly pleaſed to give directions, that there be laid before this Houſe, copies of all orders given, and informations received, relating to the raiſing Negroes for his Majeſty's ſervice, in North Carolina and South Carolina. It paſſed in the negative. Adjourned to February 9.

February 9.

Private buſineſs.

February 10.

No debate.

February 11.

Houſe in committee on the ſtate of the nation. Before the Speaker left the chair, Lord *North* ſaid, he ſhould on Tueſday next (the 17th) propoſe to the Houſe a plan of conciliation with America.

Mr. Pulteney having taken the chair, Mr. *Fox* roſe, and ſtated a great number of facts relative to the army ſerving in America, which facts were founded on concluſions, from the information on the table.

He obſerved, that there was ſuch a number of effective men in America (6864) in the year 1774; that by comparing the reinforcements ſent out the next year, added to the forces then on the ſpot, with the returns at the concluſion of that year, it would give the total deficiency, which under its ſeveral heads amounted to the total loſs; ſo with the years 1776 and 1777: thus by adding to the number of men ſerving in America the firſt year, the reinforcements and recruits of each ſucceſſive year, and comparing the amount of thoſe ſeveral totals with the laſt returns, the difference between the latter and the former ſhewed exactly the loſs of men ſlain in battle, or dead, or otherwiſe incapacitated for ſervice, by wounds, captivity, and ſickneſs.

This, he obſerved, was the firſt part of his plan, to aſcertain the loſs of lives, and loſs of ſervice, under theſe reſpective heads; the other part of it would be, to eſtimate the loſs of treaſure, which he computed, at the loweſt computation, to be full twenty-five millions ſpent, which, with twenty thouſand lives loſt, that being the difference, he ſaid, between the troops ſerving in America at the commencement of the war, and the whole of the embarkations, he appealed to the judgment of the committee, whether it was not full time (conſidering that we had gained nothing, or next to nothing, by this fatal conteſt hitherto, but a powerful, numerous, and well-diſciplined enemy, inſtead of an undiſciplined rabble, to contend with) to think of the critical and alarming ſituation of public affairs. Whether our reſources of men and money were equal to the difficult and hazardous taſk of conqueſt; or if that ſhould appear, on inquiry, to be totally impracticable, whether Parliament ſhould not, and that immediately, deviſe ſome means for putting an end to our public calamities, and endeavour to avert thoſe imminent dangers with which

we

we are threatened on every ſide. If miniſters while they hold out the plan, will at the ſame time have the candour to acquaint the Houſe, how much treaſure has been waſted, how many lives have been loſt, how many diſgraces have been brought on the nation, by this mad, improvident, and deſtructive war, he would moſt certainly join them; that twenty-five millions of money had been already ſpent, or the faith of the nation hath been pledged for the expenditure; and that twenty thouſand lives had been thrown away to no manner of purpoſe; but, if at all practicable, to make conciliation infinitely more difficult than if the ſword had never been drawn, a ſhilling ſpent, or a life loſt.

He gave the moſt ample teſtimony to the bravery and good conduct of the generals; and contended, that they miſcarried, not for want of ſkill in their profeſſion, or from neglect of duty, but merely becauſe they were employed in a ſervice, in which it was impoſſible for them to ſucceed; and if miniſters ſhewed any trace of wiſdom throughout their whole conduct, it was in their choice of the officers they ſent out, though they now baſely inſinuated, that it was only in the choice of generals that they were deceived; and that it was to their fault alone, that all our miſcarriages in the proſecution of the meaſures could be juſtly imputed.

He ſaid, he had been informed, that it was intended to ſend out other generals, and on that ground, that great expectations were formed from the next campaign: but, for his part, he expected, that whoever ſhould ſucceed to the preſent gentlemen in command, would juſt meet with the ſame fate of their predeceſſors; they would be one day charged with indolence, inactivity, and want of ſpirit; with a deſigned procraſtination of the war, from motives of lucre and private intereſt; and the next, with Quixotiſm, knight-errantry, and exceeding the inſtructions under which they were to act. He turned again to the intended propoſition of the noble Lord in the blue ribbon, and aſſured his Lordſhip, that if his plan was a fair, open one, founded in juſtice and good policy, and warranted by the principles of the conſtitution, he would venture to anſwer for his ſide of the Houſe, that it would meet with their moſt hearty concurrence. He feared it would not anſwer this deſcription; becauſe he could hardly be perſuaded, unleſs the idea of tyranny, cruelty, and meanneſs were inſeparable, that the ſame men who had rejected the moſt humble petitions and dutiful remonſtrances with haughtineſs and contempt, could ever conſent to hold out any plan which was meant to ſecure thoſe rights which

they had all along attempted to annihilate by the ſword, thereby adding tyranny and cruelty to oppreſſion and injuſtice. He then read his ſeveral reſolutions, which amounted to twelve in number; that there was ſuch a number of troops in America in 1774, ſo many ſent in 1775, total of that year, and ſo on with 1776 and 1777, which ought, on the whole, in the latter year to have amounted to 48,000 effective men and a fraction; that by the laſt returns, foreigners and Britiſh included, did not amount to more than 28,000, conſequently the loſs was 20,000 men. From whence he drew this concluſion, that if with ſuch a number of troops ſo little could be done, it was clear, that the carrying on the war, either to terrify the Americans into obedience, or to ſubdue them, was impracticable.

His firſt reſolution moved was; Reſolved, that it appears to this committee, that in the year 1774, the whole of the land forces ſerving in North America did not amount to more than 6864 effective men, officers included.

Lord *Barrington* ſaid, he highly diſapproved of the motion, as improper and ill-timed: but when he knew ſome of the honourable gentleman's propoſed reſolutions were not founded in fact, he had no difficulty in giving them a direct negative. The honourable gentleman ſtated, that 20,000 men had been loſt already in this war; this, he contended, was founded in groſs error, for, by the returns which he had in his hand, it plainly appeared, that inſtead of 20,000 men being loſt, the whole amount of the killed, in the courſe of the three years war, was no more than 1200. He did not mean to include in that number thoſe who died natural deaths, or deſerted, or were made priſoners, or were unfit for ſervice through wounds or ſickneſs, but ſuch only as were ſlain in battle. If, therefore, the reſolution concerning the loſs of men was to go out into the world, it would convey a very falſe idea, and looking on it in that light, he ſhould give it his hearty negative.

Mr. *Grenville*, in an animated ſpeech, condemned the conduct of the American war. He acknowledged, that he always thought, and ſhould ever continue to think, be the event of the preſent conteſt what it way, that Parliament had a right to have a controul over America; to levy taxes, to regulate its trade, and ſecure the monopoly of its commerce. The eſtabliſhing and maintaining of colonies would be folly, were it otherwiſe; the protecting them, when they were not able to protect and defend themſelves, at a very great expence, which has ever been, and always muſt be the caſe, from the nature of ſuch eſtabliſhments, would not be folly, but madneſs

neſs in the extreme, if, when they arrived at a ſtate of ſtrength and maturity, to be no longer in want of our aid, they were to be at liberty entirely to throw off all dependence, and diſclaim all connexion with the parent-ſtate, and, by ſo doing, eſtabliſh their own greatneſs on the ruin of the mother-country. It was upon theſe principles that he had ſupported the war, in which he had but one object, revenue. Theſe principles were now become merely matter of ſpeculation; ſuch as they were, however, he ſhould ever retain them: he therefore did not mean by his vote of that day to abandon them; but meant to conſider the queſtion of expediency, which muſt decide upon the war. He deplored the diſgrace brought not upon our arms, but on our counſels, by the raſh undigeſted expedition from Canada. He lamented the little protection given to our commerce, the weight of inſurance, the ſtate of our public credit; to theſe circumſtances he muſt yield; but that he hoped the day of retribution would come, when miniſters might be called to a ſevere account for the infamy which they have brought upon this country, by their conduct of a war, into which they had deceived the country, by promiſes of a revenue which they now abandoned. He obſerved, that the noble Lord at the head of the treaſury, had informed the Houſe, that he would, in a few days, propoſe to its conſideration a plan of conciliation. He ſincerely wiſhed it might ſucceed; but he had every reaſon in the world to believe it would not. A previous confidence between the parties was the very baſis of every ſpecies of treaty-making. The noble Lord himſelf would not venture to ſay, that was the caſe between miniſters and the preſent governing powers in America. It was well known, that every poſſible occaſion had been given by the preſent adminiſtration, to fix in the breaſts of the people of America, and their leaders, the moſt rooted hatred and inveterate rancour. Under ſuch circumſtances of diſappointment and diſgrace on one ſide, and ſuch provocations on the other, he would appeal to the candour of thoſe whoſe diſpoſitions might carry them to the greateſt lengths, in point of expectation, whether there was the moſt diſtant proſpect of any good to ariſe from a treaty, when conducted by men on the part of Great Britain, who were univerſally execrated from one end of the North American continent to the other—Men, whoſe beſt and ſincereſt intentions would be only interpreted as lures to enſnare and betray. He was ready to give the noble Lord all poſſible credit for his candour; but whatever his intentions may be, he feared that the effect of his propoſed plan, partly from the reaſons juſt mentioned, and partly from

the nature of the plan itſelf, would be, not to be accepted of by America; which would furniſh miniſters with an apology to try the experiment of one more fatal and diſgraceful campaign; after which, he would venture to predict, that all further attempts to ſubdue or treat with America, would be at an end, and that country irretrievably loſt for ever to this

He concluded in nearly the following words: The moment is critical. I do not think, notwithſtanding all that has happened, but the colonies may, by proper meaſures, be yet brought back to a ſtate of conſtitutional obedience; and that we may once more recover their affections. If there be a man, who has ſerved this nation with honour to himſelf, and glory to his country; if there be a man, who has carried the arms of Britain triumphant to every quarter of the globe, and that beyond the moſt ſanguine expectations of the people; if there be a man of whom the houſe of Bourbon ſtands more peculiarly in awe; if there be a man in this country, who unites the confidence of England and America, is not he the proper perſon to treat with America, and not thoſe who have uniformly deceived or oppreſſed them? There is not one preſent, who is ignorant of the perſon to whom I allude. You all know that I mean a noble and near relation: [Lord Chatham.] He is the man whom his Majeſty ought to call to his councils, becauſe the Americans revere him, and the unbiaſſed part of the nation would moſt cheerfully truſt their deareſt intereſts with him. I know the little paltry inſinuations which may be thrown out againſt the language I now hold; and can only ſay to them, that I deſpiſe them as much as I ſhall do any man capable of uſing them: and knowing that there is not the man nor the object in this country capable of making me croſs that board againſt my opinion, I truſt that this Houſe will at leaſt give me credit for the ſincerity with which I deliver it; and if it ſhall be found, that it is to him to whom the nation looks forward for its ſalvation, it is a duty which I am bold to ſay his Majeſty owes to his people, to avail himſelf of ſuch reſpectable aſſiſtance.

Lord *North* ſaid, as he never meant to negotiate away the rights of this country, to procure himſelf any temporary convenience; ſo he never wiſhed to encroach on thoſe of America. His own private opinion never varied: but if his propoſition ſhould not meet with the approbation of the majority of that Houſe, or that it ſhould undergo any alteration, in either event, he would gladly acquieſce. As to the particular favourable diſpoſition of America towards individuals or parties in that or the other Houſe, by every thing that had yet

yet appeared, all men and all parties ſeemed equally obnoxious to them; and whenever propoſitions came to be made, he was inclined to believe the object of the colonies would not be who it was that made them, but whether they were ſuch as anſwered their own expectations. For his part, he was ready and willing to reſign the diſagreeable taſk to whoever was thought better qualified, and was contented to accept of it. He wiſhed as ſincerely for pacification as any one perſon in either Houſe; and ſo the end was obtained, it was a matter of no conſequence to him by whom, or in what manner it was obtained. He then ſpoke to the queſtion, and was againſt the motion, ſaying, that though he had approved of the purport of the motion, he could not agree to it while there remained ſo great a difference in the calculation, between the honourable gentleman who made it, and the noble Lord from whoſe particular office the papers came. If, therefore, the motion was not withdrawn till the difference in calculation, which was in the proportion of ſixteen to one, was reconciled, he ſhould move to report ſome progreſs.

Mr. *Burke* remarked that the ſentiments, opinions, promiſes, and aſſurances of the miniſter, were conſtantly in a regular, ſucceſſive, uniform ſtate of contradiction to each other, in reſpect of every matter relative to the American meaſures and American war. On the preſent occaſion, he roſe inſtantly, he ſaid, after the noble Lord [Lord North] left, if he deferred it only a few minutes longer, the noble Lord's memory might fail him.

Lord *Ongley* was againſt the motion, and declared himſelf to be againſt any meaſure of accommodation, ſhort of compelling America, in the firſt inſtance, to acknowledge the ſupreme right of Parliament.

Sir *Richard Sutton* ſpoke nearly to the ſame purport, and expreſſed his diſapprobation of the reſolution, as only tending to encourage our rebellious ſubjects in America to refuſe every reaſonable plan of accommodation which miniſters might think proper to offer them.

Lord *Nugent* was againſt the propoſed reſolution. He affirmed, on his conſcience, he was ſatisfied that miniſters had purſued the beſt meaſures, though they had unhappily failed. As there was ſo immenſe a difference between the accounts of the two honourable gentlemen [Mr. Fox and Lord Barrington] he could not ſee, till that was ſettled, how it was poſſible for the debate to be continued. He ſaid, he diſapproved of this inquiry from the beginning; and experience had taught him, that a multiplicity of papers ſerved not to inform but to

perplex; and related the following anecdote, in proof of his general aſſertion. The late King, ſoon after his acceſſion, told Sir Robert Walpole, that he would himſelf ſee all papers of confidence, before any meaſures were taken upon them. Sir Robert was alarmed, and went to conſult his brother Horace, what was beſt to be done. Horace ſeeing him ſo uneaſy, laughed, and adviſed him to give the King more than he aſked; "Give him all the papers, and I dare ſay, he will ſoon have enough of them." Sir Robert took his advice, and carried him a cart full, telling his Majeſty, that he had paid ſeveral extra clerks, to aſſiſt in getting more ready; and informed him further, that he believed, when the whole were copied, they would fill five carts more. The King told him, he need not get any more ready till he heard his further directions on the ſubject; the conſequence of which was, that Sir Robert never heard a ſyllable more of papers from his Majeſty as long as he remained in office. His Lordſhip concluded with moving, that the chairman ſhould leave the chair, report ſome progreſs, and deſire leave to ſit again.

Mr. *T. Townſhend* replied, that the honourable gentleman's twelve reſolutions did not amount to twelve cart-loads, nor did all the papers called for; but if the noble Lord who controverted the truth of ſome of the reſolutions [Lord Barrington] ſent in papers of a different complexion to thoſe he ſpoke from himſelf, and which he held in his hand, it was no wonder there were miſtakes in the calculations, and juſt ſuch miſtakes too as the noble Lord pleaſed. In the courſe of his ſpeech, he mentioned that, to his knowledge, miniſters had laſt week ſent leave of abſence to General Howe, who would doubtleſs be on his return home when the noble Lord's conciliatory propoſition arrived in America.

Lord *John Cavendiſh* entreated the committee to turn its attention from trifles, and think ſeriouſly on the ſtate of this country; and whether their properties in land and ſtocks were not now too nearly at ſtake, not to ſuggeſt the moſt alarming apprehenſions. The funds daily falling in value, commerce rapidly declining, in his opinion, were motives ſufficient to rouſe the nation to a proper ſenſe of danger.

Mr. *Ellis* cenſured the inquiry, ſaid it could be productive of no good, and might of great miſchief; ſaid, that a fall of ſtock, and ſuſpenſion of commerce in ſome of its branches, were the uſual, nay the inevitable conſequences of a ſtate of war; but, independent of any other conſideration, he ſhould vote to adjourn the committee, and report ſome progreſs, becauſe it was evident, that the honourable gentleman who moved

moved the reſolutions was miſtaken in the calculations on which they were founded.

Colonel *Barré*, after maintaining the truth of the reſolutions moved by his honourable friend, obſerved on the propoſition promiſed by the noble Lord in the blue ribbon on Tueſday, that he expected no good from it, as the conduct of miniſters had from the firſt of the American buſineſs been ſhuffling (for it deſerved no better name) both to this country and the colonies.

Mr. *Fox* inſiſted that 20,000 men had been loſt, at leaſt the greater part of them, to this country, though they were not all ſlain in battle; and he defied the noble Lord at the head of the war department to prove where 6000 of them, including priſoners or ſick, were to be had; for that by the laſt returns the Britiſh and foreign troops amounted to no more than 28,000, though we paid for 48,000 men.

Mr. *Aubrey*, after having ſpoke to the queſtion, in which he praiſed the conduct of the Americans, particularly their mode of making war, by which he ſhewed the impoſſibility of ſucceſs by our arms, concluded with obſerving, that all he ſhould ſay to the intended motion of reconciliation juſt mentioned by the noble Lord [Lord North] was, that after the violent meaſures ſo long carried on by that noble Lord, and his equally violent declarations of perſevering in them, until he had brought America proſtrate at his feet, he could not but look upon that intended motion as a proof that the noble Lord thought ſucceſs hopeleſs, and perſeverance impracticable.

General *Conway* replied to Lord Barrington, and ſaid, if his honourable friend had been miſtaken, it muſt be becauſe he was deſignedly led aſtray by the manner the office papers were made out. This, however, could not properly affect the truth of his other reſolutions, though he had been miſtaken in one or two; but he was convinced that every one of them was ſubſtantially right.

The Houſe divided; ayes, to report ſome progreſs, 263; noes, 149.

Adjourned to February 13.

February 13.

Houſe in Committee of Supply.

Mr. *Buller* moved, that 781,911*l.* be granted for the ordinary and extraordinary ſervices of the navy for 1778. With reſpect to the eſtimates of both theſe ſervices, he ſaid, that they

they did not differ very materially from the grants of preceding years.

Mr. *Temple Luttrell.* He ſaid, he was very glad to meet the gentlemen of the Admiralty Board in Committee, becauſe he might be indulged with riſing a ſecond and third time, if called upon ſo to do. He remarked, that a noble Lord [Lord Mulgrave] had, on a former day, when the Speaker was in the chair, accuſed him of uſing too ſevere a language towards a noble Earl at the head of the navy department. This he diſavowed; he had indeed charged that perſon with dangerous and groſs errors in his public capacity; and he held it incumbent on him to ſupport ſuch an attack by very ſubſtantial proofs, which he was now ready to undertake;—he had been alſo allowed the laſt official returns of the ſquadron of Jamaica, "leſt, as was thrown out by a formal oppoſition to his requeſt, he might preſume the motion made by him was of ſome material conſequence." He had, at the ſame time, been told, with a contemptuous ſneer, and much aſſurance, "that he might go home with what glee he was maſter of, fully perſuaded that the Britiſh navy was not in the bad ſtate he had flattered himſelf to be the caſe." For his part, he could never admit, that, in a Houſe of Parliament, the importance of any public queſtion was to be adjudged from the individual weight and authority of the member who ſuggeſted it; in that Houſe all members were equal in their delegated character from the people; and from whatever quarter a motion might originate, it ought to ſtand or fall by its own intrinſic merits; neither did he, by any means, rejoice in the calamitous ſtate of the Britiſh fleet; he thought he gave the ſtrongeſt and cleareſt demonſtration of his earneſt wiſhes to have the navy reſtored to its former flouriſhing condition. When he was thus zealous to inveſtigate and correct the real abuſes, frauds, and iniquitous practices made uſe of by the Admiralty, he expreſſed his wiſhes, that the Houſe, in the Committee upon the ſtate of the nation, would have begun their inquiry by firſt conſidering what naval force we could actually command, in caſe of a rupture with France and Spain; it is on the ſuperiority of our fleet the ſafety of Great Britain muſt depend; and the examination into the ſufficiency of our land forces, for the internal duty of theſe iſlands, whether 16,000 or more, muſt ariſe out of the prior deciſion, whether we had maritime ſtrength enough to keep the French from landing on our coaſt under cover of a ſuperior ſquadron of ſhips of war; but he made no doubt the gentlemen of the minority,

minority, with whom he had hitherto uniformly co-operated, would not be diſpoſed to waſte time in queſtions of trifling detail, or at beſt of but ſecondary import, which might juſtly draw down the cenſure of the whole nation on the proceeding of Parliament at this criſis; therefore hoped they would ſeriouſly and effectually urge the important conſiderations of the ſtate of the Britiſh fleet, and diſcuſſions of ſuch magnitude as fundamentally affected the intereſt and preſervation of the empire.

Mr. *Luttrell* denied that the eſtimates were materially the ſame as in other years: the extraordinary ſum total exceeding any of former times by 50,000*l.* and the ordinary repairs, wear and tear, &c. of ſhips out of commiſſion, when there are only about fourſcore on that liſt, comes to as much as was charged on 250 ſhips and veſſels of the like deſcription, before the American war broke out, being little ſhort of 170,000*l.*

Mr. *Ellis* aſſured the honourable gentleman who ſpoke laſt he had been much miſinformed; that he rather commended than blamed his zeal for urging an inquiry into the large ſums granted for the uſes of the navy; he confeſſed that, in general, they met with too little regard from the members of that Houſe; but he could venture to aſſure the honourable gentleman, that he had been much misinformed as to the mal-application of the liberal gifts of Parliament for that moſt eſſential object;—he had been long well acquainted with the navy department, and been honoured more than once with a poſt of rank and confidence in that line; he had not obſerved any groſs abuſes in thoſe who now preſided over it, and hoped the navy was in a much better ſituation than the honourable gentleman had ſurmiſed, and would ſo be found when the day of trial ſhould come;—there muſt, of courſe, be vaſt grants for ſo extenſive a department of government as that of our marine, eſpecially for building, rebuilding, and repairs, immediately after the cloſe of ſuch a weighty war as the laſt, when the ſhips would be found in a great meaſure worn out, and muſt be replaced with new ones; and therefore, for a few years of the peace juſt following war, your eſtimates will be higher than in ſubſequent times. As to the article of the monies granted for the navy, the Admiralty Board could only be made accountable for ſuch ſums as they actually drew out of the Treaſury, and not for all the ſums which were voted by Parliament upon eſtimates ſtated to be for that ſervice. He did not wonder at gentlemen being ſurpriſed

priſed at the magnitude of ſums demanded for repairs, but attributed the neceſſity of ſuch demands to the badneſs of timber with which many of our new ſhips had been built, but that he hoped the quantity of timber in our dock-yards would give time for the wood to be better ſeaſoned, and fitter for ſervice; a quantity, he ſaid, never known in your dock-yards before this firſt Lord of the Admiralty came to the Board.

Mr. Temple Luttrell. For what relates to the timber for ſhip-building and repairs, imported from abroad, I attribute much of the ruinous ſtate of your ſhips of war. Thoſe ill-judged contracts, when the quality is found ſo very faulty and pernicious, the quantity thereof can only be brought in argument to ſhew the magnitude of the miſchief: it is this foreign timber which has, I fear, entailed rottenneſs on your fleet; and if the laſt fire in your dock-yards had made a providential ſweep of all your oak from Steiten, I believe it would have more than compenſated for its deſtruction of other truly valuable articles. He thought the right honourable gentleman [Mr. Ellis] had, in fact, argued much more forcibly againſt the preſent naval adminiſtration, than he had ever preſumed to do, alledging, that the largeſt grants for the extraordinaries of the navy, (that is, building, rebuilding, and repairs) was of courſe neceſſary for ſome few years immediately after the war. This maxim might indeed reaſonably warrant the late Mr. Grenville, or Lord Egmont, in applying to Parliament for an advanced allowance on this head when they preſided at the Admiralty; or might have juſtified that illuſtrious ſea-officer [Lord Hawke] when he was at the head of the Board, had the extraordinaries then come up to the preſent enormous ſum. The demand now made thereon was near half a million ſterling, and far exceeded requiſitions of the kind attempted by any of Lord Sandwich's predeceſſors in office. The noble Earl came to the head of the navy eight years after a profound peace. Including the preſent eſtimates, the Houſe of Commons will have given that noble Earl about two millions one hundred thouſand pounds for building, rebuilding, and repairing the ſhips and veſſels of his Majeſty's navy, that is, the mere hull, maſts, and yards, over and above near 800,000*l.* for the keeping and preſerving the hulls of his Majeſty's ſhips out of commiſſion, and above 600,000*l.* for extra ſtores, excluſive of what was allowed by the nation to repleniſh the ſtores conſumed by the fire at Portſmouth dock-yard, and excluſive of ſundry conſiderable demands for timber, &c. ſet forth in the

navy-

navy-debt. More money had therefore been granted by the nation to the noble Earl [Lord Sandwich] by this country, on the extraordinary eſtimate alone, than would have built from the ſtocks, rigged and completely equipped for ſea, (independent of navy-ordnance, which is a diſtinct and weighty charge in the public accounts) one hundred men of war of the line of battle. And what is the actual condition of your ſhips at preſent? Of the whole navy of Great Britain, not more, at the utmoſt, than fifty of the line of battle. (including the vaſt nominal account of wrecks in ordinary) can poſſibly be found fit for ſea, in caſe of a foreign war, without ſuch repairs as would require the labour of many months, and a very large expence. Lord Hawke, when he reſigned his office, left 80 of the line in good condition, of which 59 were fully manned for war. Mr. Luttrell then examined the liſt of men of war of the line now given in to be repaired, and remarked, that the following ſhips had already been allowed more money for repairs than would have built them new from the keel at the moſt extravagant coſt, viz. Namur, within the four laſt years, 39,335*l.* and 6635*l.* for her ſtores. The Defence, 29,500*l.* The Arrogant, 26,500*l.* He ſhould now ſit down, after ſtating the eſtimates for repairing the Dragon of 74 guns, and which had more than once been reported to the Houſe as actually taken in hand. The Admiralty, in 1771, came to Parliament for 5000*l.* to repair the Dragon; in 1772, for 7000*l.* more; in 1773, for 4000*l.*; in 1774, 4000*l.*; in 1775, 7000*l.* in all 27,000*l.* beſides 10,273*l.* for her ſtores. Now, does, or does not, that very ſhip (the Dragon) ſtill remain untouched, in a moſt rotten ſtate, above Portſmouth harbour, and without having had any of thoſe ſums allowed for her repair by Parliament, expended on her from the time of the firſt grant, in the year 1771, to the preſent day?

Lord *Mulgrave* admitted the honourable gentleman's charge, and agreed, that not one ſhilling had been laid out in repairing thoſe ſhips, but ſaid the money was applied to other naval purpoſes, and not put into a bag by the firſt Lord of the Admiralty, or into his pocket; that the eſtimate was the uſual mode of raiſing money, but never meant to ſtate the purpoſes the money was to be applied to; that if it was a crime, it was one that had been often practiſed ever ſince the reign of James II.

Mr. *Temple Luttrell*, to explain. He had never ſaid, nor inſinuated even a ſuſpicion, that the noble Earl at the Admiralty-

ralty-Board pocketed, or put into a bag for his private uſe, the monies thus voted: he therefore requeſted, that, whenever the noble Lord [Lord Mulgrave] did him the honour to quote his words, or comment upon his ideas, he would do it ingenuouſly and faithfully; that there had been unpardonable extravagance ſomewhere, under a pretence of naval ſervices, he was certain; and the fleet was in an alarming ſtate of decay. Perhaps the firſt Lord of the Admiralty thought it the beſt policy to endeavour to maſk this weakneſs, and boldly aſſert the direct contrary to facts, in hopes to deceive the courts of Verſailles and Madrid: but ſurely the noble Lord is too experienced a ſtateſman, and too well acquainted with the correctneſs of the intelligence of thoſe powers, on ſuch an important ſubject as this, to flatter himſelf that his impoſitions, ſo dangerous to the ſafety of your empire, have any ſucceſs beyond the Britiſh Channel. The noble Lord is certainly reſponſible for any embezzlement of the public treaſure through the medium of that department where he preſides. As to the cuſtom of miniſters ſince the day of King James or King William, I could have wiſhed the honourable member, before he went ſo far back in our hiſtory, to have read the addreſs of this Houſe, in the year 1711, to Queen Ann, upon abuſes exactly ſimilar to theſe. They were ſet forth to her Majeſty as ſubſtantial grievances to her people, and atrocious crimes in the miniſters ſo offending; and in her anſwer thereto of the 4th of June the ſame year, ſhe promiſes them ample redreſs; which proves, that the money granted upon ſpecific eſtimates muſt be applied to the purpoſes therein ſet forth, unleſs, upon proper official application, the Parliament agree to a different appropriation thereof.

Mr. *Burke* expreſſed his aſtoniſhment at what the Admiralty had dared to acknowledge; and, in the warmth of his indignation, threw the book of eſtimates at the Treaſury-Bench; which, taking the candle in its way, had nearly ſtruck Mr. Ellis's ſhins; Mr. Burke exclaiming, that it was treating the Houſe with the utmoſt contempt, to preſent them with a fine gilt book of eſtimates, calculated to a farthing, for purpoſes to which the money granted was never meant to be applied. When former miniſters had ventured to impoſe, they had the modeſty to endeavour to conceal the crime; it remained for the preſent to have ſuch confidence in their power, as to riſk an acknowledgment of their prodigality, and to ſet at defiance the principles of the conſtitution, and authority of Parliament.

Governor

Governor *Johnſtone* contended for the preſervation and proſperity of the navy; and lamented that the generoſity of the people could not induce miniſters to employ the money to the principal uſes intended, that of keeping ſhips in repair, and building our men of war with the beſt materials that can be purchaſed.

Mr. *J. Johnſtone* and Mr. *Hopkins* likewiſe took the ſame line of argument. The motion was agreed to without a diviſion.

Adjourned to February 16.

February 16.

Report from the Committee of Supply, that 293,216*l.* for the ordinary, and 488,695*l.* for the extraordinaries of the navy be granted for 1778.

Mr. *Temple Luttrell* objected to receiving the report; he inſiſted that the eſtimates of the navy for the laſt ſeven years would in future times be conſidered as monuments of the proſtitution of Parliament, who have granted ſo enormous a ſum as 6,150,000*l.* for the naval department ſince the preſent miniſters came into office, and for the expenditure of which Parliament were allowed no authentic vouchers; and all the information they could get from the Board of Admiralty was, that the money had been obtained under falſe pretences, and had not been applied to the uſes ſpecified and allowed of by the Houſe of Commons. He made the clerk read the addreſs to the Crown, in the reign of Queen Anne, ſetting forth this practice and impoſition on the nation, as a moſt heinous grievance, and which her Majeſty, in her anſwer, promiſed to redreſs.

Mr. Luttrell then moved, "That the proper officers do lay before the Houſe an account of the actual diſpoſal of all public monies granted ſince January 1, 1771, to December 25, 1777, ſpecifying to what uſes ſuch grants have been applied."

This motion was ſeconded by Mr. *Thomas Townſhend*, who ſpoke in reprehenſion of ſuch unwarranted licence and prodigality on the part of the miniſters.

Sir *Edward Aſtley* likewiſe ſaid a few ſentences on the ſame ſide of the queſtion.

Lord *Mulgrave* moved the previous queſtion, which was carried.

The report was agreed to.

Adjourned to February 17.

February

February 17.

A petition of ſeveral of the gentlemen, freeholders, and others, of the county of Norfolk, and of the city of Norwich, was preſented to the Houſe, and read; ſetting forth, that your petitioners obſerve, with the utmoſt concern and ſurprize, that extraordinary endeavours are uſed in this county, and in many other parts of the kingdom, to raiſe men and money for his Majeſty's ſervice by free gifts and contributions, not given and granted in a parliamentary courſe, which unuſual and ſtrained efforts (concerning the very legality of which they conceive doubts may juſtly be entertained) while Parliament actually ſits, and at a time when his Majeſty is in apparent peace with all the powers in Europe, ſtrongly indicate ſome violent diſtemper in the ſtate, to which its ordinary powers and means of ſupply are not ſufficient. We moſt humbly apprehend, that if a war with any of the neighbouring nations threatens to break out, nothing can give more encouragement to it than the taking ſuch meaſures as tend to prove this kingdom to be as much exhauſted in its ſtrength at the very commencement of foreign hoſtilities, as it has been at the cloſe of the longeſt and moſt waſteful wars. Your petitioners have been alſo called upon, in a manner equally alarming, by perſons of great power and rank in his Majeſty's ſervice, to raiſe men and money for ſupporting the conſtitutional authority of Great Britain. We hope and truſt, that conſtitutional authority is ſafe and well ſupported in the affections of a loyal and a free people; we know of no attack upon, or reſiſtance to, the operation of the laws in this county, or in this kingdom. Impaired, as we may be, in power or reputation abroad, we have however peace at home; but in the thirteen once-flouriſhing and obedient colonies of Great Britain, his Majeſty has no authority or other government to be ſupported. A miſrepreſentation of our unhappy ſituation would be a mockery of our diſtreſs. An empire is loſt. A great continent in arms is to be conquered or abandoned. One whole Britiſh army of veteran troops has ſurrendered priſoners of war to the ſudden levies of a new nation; another, abandoning a province which had been over-run in the laſt campaign, and after two engagements in the field ſucceſsful without advantage, having marched out to take a view of an enemy poſted in one of thoſe places of inacceſſible ſtrength with which America abounds, has been compelled by neceſſity to march back to an open town, which they are obliged to fortify for winter-quarters at an enormous expence; the

the continent of America is, it ſeems, to be conquered by defeated and defenſive armies. It is a project we cannot comprehend. Sixty thouſand ſoldiers, a force of artillery (if we are to judge by the charge) ſuch as never has been ſent out of this kingdom, ſixty thouſand ſeamen voted, more than an hundred armed ſhips employed in this ſpecial ſervice, an unheard-of expence in every ſort of military ſupply, have, after three years ſtruggle, brought things to ſuch a ſtate, that, inſtead of quieting our civil troubles, we are threatened with a foreign war, for which, after ſuch an abundance (for we cannot call it profuſion) of parliamentary grants increaſing daily, and with the moſt exuberant recruiting funds, we are called upon to piece-out the deficiency of public wealth by private contributions; a nation of ſuch power as this, reduced to ſuch a ſtate, muſt loſe its reaſon and its feelings, together with its glory, if it could acquieſce in its condition. It is not in our choice to ſuppoſe that it can have happened without a fault ſomewhere: in the generals and armies the fault cannot be; if their known and tried characters did not forbid all ſuſpicions of them, yet his Majeſty's moſt gracious ſpeeches from the throne make it improper for us to entertain the leaſt doubt of their courage and conduct; but his Majeſty has not forbid us to entertain doubts of the wiſdom, care, and prudence, of thoſe who conduct his affairs; and we truſt, that the Houſe of Commons, whoſe duty calls, and whoſe competence and conſtitution enables them to come to the bottom of thoſe evils, will ſeriouſly inquire into the cauſes of our preſent calamitous ſituation, for we greatly fear that we, with the reſt of your conſtituents, have been hitherto greatly deceived and deluded, with regard to the nature, the cauſe, and the importance of the American troubles, as well as concerning the means of quieting them, both legal and coercive: elſe we ſhould not have the misfortune to ſee acts of Parliament made only to be ſent back to be repealed; armies ſent out to enforce them, only to be returned to us as priſoners under capitulation; and, to ſpeak with the filial confidence of free ſubjects, we plainly declare ourſelves unwilling to commit any more of our national glory to attaint, and the perſons of more of our countrymen to foreign hardſhips and perils, without any common human ſecurity, that they ſhall not, by the ſame errors, be expoſed to the ſame calamities and diſgraces which many of thoſe have fallen into who have already been ſent forth. Without wiſe councils at home, we cannot have empire or reputation abroad; it is our duty to our So-

vereign, to whoſe perſon and illuſtrious Houſe we have ever borne the moſt diſtinguiſhed and zealous attachment, which compels us to lay before this honourable Houſe this repreſentation of his affairs; we ſhall ever be foremoſt in providing for every reaſonable and uſeful ſupply for the public ſervice; but we cannot make ourſelves the inſtruments of any faction, or grant money as a teſt of our ſupport of it. If the Colonies can be brought to obedience, we are convinced, by ſad experience, it muſt be by wiſe and lenient counſels, and by thoſe in whom they have no experience of ill-will or incapacity, the one producing hatred and the other contempt; for our domeſtic protection, we moſt humbly conceive, that our conſtitutional militia, which his Majeſty has been enabled to call out, is the moſt effective and leaſt invidious defence; twelve entirely new corps, conſiſting of fifteen thouſand Highlanders of the northern part of the united kingdom, and of the towns of Mancheſter and Liverpool, appointed during the ſitting, without the previous approbation of Parliament, and which can hardly be ready in time for American ſervice, are not, we moſt humbly ſubmit it to ſuperior wiſdom, the defence in which we can or ought, for obvious reaſons, to truſt, in preference to that more numerous and equally well-trained and well-affected body, the national militia; nor have we been given to underſtand, at a time when the war-eſtabliſhment ſtands at comparatively low numbers, and thoſe numbers far from complete, and at a time when the public burthens are ſo oppreſſive, for what reaſon new corps ſhould be raiſed, or on what grounds: if a compliment was meant (at the expence of our finances, and what we conceive the moſt ſerviceable military arrangement) the compliment has been confined to the above mentioned parts of this kingdom. We do, therefore, with all earneſtneſs and humanity pray, an inquiry into the true grounds and conduct of this unhappy civil war, that the beſt means may be found for bringing it to a ſpeedy termination; for facilitating the reſtoration of concord and confidence to all the citizens of the Britiſh empire; to avert, if poſſible, a foreign war, or, if that be not poſſible, to take due care that rational, effectual, and becoming proviſion, in an orderly and parliamentary way, be made for our defence and ſafety. Under the accumulated diſtreſs of foreign and civil hoſtility we throw ourſelves with the moſt perfect reliance on the care and wiſdom (never more called for than in the preſent exigency) of a Britiſh Houſe of Commons;

Commons; on them we reſt the laſt hopes of a deſerving, but we fear, an injured, deceived, and endangered people.

(Signed by five thouſand four hundred.)

Ordered, That the ſaid petition do lie upon the table.

Lord *North*, agreeable to his promiſe, roſe to make his conciliatory propoſitions. He began by apologizing for the intended length of his ſpeech, but he ſaid it was neceſſary, from the quantity of matter he was obliged to go into, and from the perſpicuity and clearneſs which he intended to make uſe of, in giving ſatisfaction upon every part of the detail. He declared, that from the beginning he had been uniformly diſpoſed to peace. That the coercive acts which he had made were ſuch as appeared to be neceſſary at the time, though in the event they had produced effects which he never intended. That as ſoon as he found that they had not the effect which he intended, he propoſed a conciliatory propoſition before the ſword was drawn. That at that time he thought, and that he ſtill thinks, the terms of that propoſition would form the happieſt, moſt equitable, and moſt laſting bond of union between Great Britain and her colonies. That by a variety of diſcuſſions, a propoſition that was originally clear and ſimple in itſelf, was made to appear ſo obſcure, as to go damned to America; ſo that the Congreſs conceived, or took occaſion to repreſent it as a ſcheme for ſowing diviſions, and introducing taxation among them in a worſe mode than the former, and accordingly rejected it.

His idea never had been to draw any conſiderable revenue either in that way, or any other, from America; that his idea was, they ſhould contribute in a very low proportion to the expences of this country. That he had always known that American taxation could never produce a beneficial revenue; that there were many ſorts of taxes that could not at all be laid on that country, and that few of them would prove worth the charge of collection; that the ſtamp act was the moſt judicious that could be choſen for that purpoſe, as it intereſted every man who had any dealing, or any property to defend or recover, in the collection of the tax, and the execution of the law: but notwithſtanding the high rate at which that duty had been formerly eſtimated, he did not believe its produce would have been a very conſiderable object; and if the people had confederated, as they ſeemed in general diſpoſed to do, and in ſome places had actually done, to go on without

ſtamps, it would produce nothing at all, but would encreaſe the confuſions of the country, if any attempts were made to diſturb the tranſactions which were carried on without ſtamps. That accordingly he never had propoſed any tax on America; he found them already taxed, when he unfortunately (as he ſtill muſt ſay, whatever uſe has been, or might be made of the word) came into adminiſtration. That his principle of policy was to have had as little diſcuſſion on theſe ſubjects as poſſible, but to keep the affairs of America out of Parliament; that accordingly, as he had not laid, ſo did he not think it adviſable for him to repeal the tea-tax, nor did he ever think of any particular means for enforcing it.

That the act enabling the Eaſt-India company to ſend teas to America on their own account, and with the draw-back of the whole duty here, was a regulation which he thought it not poſſible the Americans could complain of, ſince it was a relief inſtead of an oppreſſion; but that the ill-affected there, and perſons concerned in a contraband trade, endeavoured to repreſent it as a monoply; that ſome hand-bills that were ſcattered about at Boſton, even ſuppoſed that he had taken off the American three-pence per pound duty, and that even on that ſuppoſition, the diſaffected excited the people to a tumult, upon a principle totally diſtinct from all idea of taxation. This, therefore, as he never had meant taxation as his object in the laſt tea-act, ſo neither did he in his conciliatory propoſition; but in the latter, conſidered it only as a means of union and good agreement between the two countries; that, therefore, in what he was going to propoſe he was uniform and conſiſtent.

One of the bills he propoſed to move for was, to quiet America upon the ſubject of taxation, and to remove all fears, real or pretended, of Parliament's ever attempting to tax them again, and to take away all exerciſe of the right itſelf in future, ſo far as regarded revenue. That as to the other particulars in controverſy, he obſerved that the Americans had deſired a repeal of all the acts paſſed ſince 1763; that this could not, however, be ſuppoſed to mean any more than thoſe acts which had in ſome way or other preſſed on them; for that ſome which had paſſed in 1769 were beneficial, and ſuch as they themſelves muſt conſider in that light, being the granting of bounties and premiums, or the relaxation of former ſtatutes that had been grievous to them. That as to the late acts, ſuch as the Maſſachuſetts charter, the fiſhery,

fiſhery, and the prohibitory bills, as they were the effect of the quarrel, they ſhould ceaſe; and that as to complaints of matters of a various nature, authority ſhould be given to ſettle them to the ſatisfaction of America.

That all theſe matters, conſiſting of a great variety, would be better left to the diſcuſſion of commiſſioners, than to be eſtabliſhed here by act of Parliament, or by explicit powers given for each ſpecific purpoſe; for that the Americans in the negotiation would conſider every conceſſion made actually here, to be a part of the baſis of the treaty, and therefore never to be receded from, and would accumulate new demands upon that; therefore, as every thing of that kind might be variouſly modified by agreement, he was for leaving the whole to commiſſioners.

That the commiſſioners formerly appointed had very large powers, ſo indeed he underſtood thoſe powers; but that as others ſeemed to conſider them as more limited than in reality they were, he ſhould take care now to be very explicit, and that he would give them full powers to treat, diſcuſs, and conclude upon every point whatever. That as ſome difficulties had ariſen about the powers given to the commiſſioners, of treating with the Congreſs by name, he would now remove that difficulty, by empowering and enabling the commiſſioners to treat with the Congreſs as if it were a legal body, and would ſo far give it authenticity, as to ſuppoſe its acts and conceſſions would bind all America. That they ſhould have powers to treat with any of the provincial aſſemblies upon their preſent conſtitution, and with any individuals in their preſent civil capacities or military commands; with General Waſhington, or any other officer. That they ſhould have a power, whenever they thought requiſite, to order a ſuſpenſion of arms. That they ſhould have a power to ſuſpend the operation of all laws. That they ſhould have a power of granting all ſorts of pardons, immunities, and rewards. That they ſhould have a power of reſtoring all the colonies, or any of them, to the form of its antient conſtitution, as it ſtood before the troubles; any of thoſe where the King nominated the governors, council, judges, and other magiſtrates, to nominate ſuch at their diſcretion, till the King's further pleaſure be known.

That as the powers of the former commiſſioners had been objected to, ſo the Congreſs had raiſed a difficulty, on pretence of the non-admiſſion of their title to be independent

ſtates. As the Americans might claim their independence on the outſet, he would not inſiſt on their renouncing it till the treaty ſhould receive its final ratification by the King and Parliament of Great Britain.

That the commiſſioners ſhould be inſtructed to negotiate for ſome reaſonable and moderate contribution towards the common defence of the empire when re-united; but to take away all pretence for not terminating this unhappy difference, the contribution was not to be inſiſted on as a *ſine qua non* of the treaty; but that if the Americans ſhould refuſe ſo reaſonable and equitable a propoſition, they were not to complain, if hereafter they were not to look for ſupport from that part of the empire to whoſe expence they had refuſed to contribute. That it might be aſked, if his ſentiments had always been ſuch with regard to taxation and peace, and why he had not made this propoſition at a more early period? To this he anſwered, his opinion had ever been, that the moment of victory was the proper time for offering terms of conceſſion. That the Houſe might remember, that at the beginning of the ſeſſion he had declared, that ſuch were his ſentiments; he at that time thought that the victories obtained by Sir William Howe had been more deciſive, and that he knew nothing of General Burgoyne's misfortune. That when the news of that misfortune had arrived, and that the victories obtained by Sir William Howe could not be ſo improved, as to hinder General Waſhington from appearing with ſome ſuperiority in the field, and that the King's troops were obliged to retire, and fortify themſelves in winter quarters, the firſt thing that occurred to him, as the nation was ſtill ſtrong and vigorous, that they could raiſe a number of men, and that the reſources were far from exhauſted, that their ſtrength ſhould be exerted to repair the loſſes, and to purſue the war with vigour to a happy termination: but when he reflected upon the uncertainty of events, which had hitherto ſo much diſappointed his expectation, and that in caſe of the utmoſt ſucceſs, the terms which he now propoſed muſt be ſubſtantially the ſame as he ſhould propoſe in the height of victory, he ſaw no reaſon to prevent the protracting the war, the effuſion of blood, and the immoderate expence, he would offer the ſame propoſitions now.

That he was convinced that they would conſiderably aid the operations of war, as they would themſelves be aided by the force in America, which was ſtill very great; that in caſe

caſe nothing farther could be done by force, at any rate they would be offered with more grace than hereafter.

That the events of war in America had turned out very differently from his expectation; that great force had been procured to be ſent into America, but to little purpoſe hitherto.

That he muſt confeſs himſelf extremely diſappointed in his expectations of the effect of our military force. He did not mean at that time to condemn, or even to call into queſtion, the conduct of any of our commanders, but he had been diſappointed. That Sir William Howe had not only been in the late actions, and in the whole courſe of the campaign, in goodneſs of troops, and in all manner of ſupplies, but in numbers too, much ſuperior to the American army which oppoſed him in the field. That General Burgoyne, who was at length overpowered by numbers, had been in numbers, until the affair at Bennington, near twice as ſtrong as the army under General Gates. That all theſe things had happened in a manner very contrary to his expectation.

That, for his part, he never had made a promiſe which he did not perform, or receive an information which he did not communicate. That he only kept back the names of thoſe who had given him information, and which it would be unfaithful and inhumane to divulge; that he promiſed a great army ſhould be ſent out, and a great army had been ſent out; there were 60,000 men and upwards; that he had promiſed a great fleet ſhould be employed, and a great fleet had been employed, and is now employed; that they ſhould be provided with every kind of ſupply, and that they had been ſo moſt amply and liberally, and might be ſo for years to come; that if the Houſe was deceived, they had deceived themſelves.

On the whole, his conceſſions were from reaſon and propriety, not from neceſſity; that we were in a condition to carry on the war much longer. We might raiſe many more men, and had many more men ready to ſend, for the navy was never in greater ſtrength, the revenue very little ſunk, and that he could raiſe the ſupplies for the current year, as a little time would ſhew; that he ſubmitted the whole, with regard to the propriety of his paſt and preſent conduct, to the judgment of the Houſe.

Mr. *Fox* roſe next. He ſaid, that he could not refuſe his aſſent to the propoſitions made by Lord North; that he was very glad to find that they were, in the main, ſo ample and

ſatisfactory, and that he believed they would be ſupported by all thoſe with whom he had the honour to act. That they did not materially differ from thoſe which had been made by a friend of his [Mr. Burke] about three years ago; that the very ſame arguments which had been uſed by the minority, and very nearly in the ſame words, were uſed by the noble Lord upon this occaſion. He was glad to find, that he had wholly relinquiſhed the right of taxation, as this was a fundamental; he was glad, alſo, that he had declared his intention of giving the commiſſioners power to reſtore the charter of Maſſachuſett's-Bay; for, giving the ſatisfaction which he [Lord North] propoſed, it would be neceſſary for Parliament to give the ſame ſecurity, with regard to charters, which it had given with regard to taxation; that the Americans were full as jealous of the rights of their aſſemblies, as of taxation; and their chief objection to the latter was its tendency to affect the former.

He wiſhed that this conceſſion had been made more early, and upon principles more reſpectful to Parliament. To tell them, that if they were deceived, they had deceived themſelves, was neither kind nor civil to an aſſembly, which, for ſo many years, had relied upon him with ſuch unreſerved confidence; that all public bodies, like the Houſe of Commons, muſt give a large confidence to perſons in office; and their only method of preventing the abuſe of that confidence was to puniſh thoſe who had miſinformed them concerning the true ſtate of their affairs, or conducted them with negligence, ignorance, or incapacity; that Lord North's arguments upon this ſubject might be all collected into one point, his excuſes all reduced into one apology, his total ignorance.

He hoped, and was diſappointed; he expected a great deal, and found little to anſwer his expectations. He thought America would have ſubmitted to his laws, and they reſiſted them. He thought they would have ſubmitted to his armies, and they were beaten by inferior numbers. He made conciliatory propoſitions, and he thought they would ſucceed, but they were rejected. He appointed commiſſioners to make peace, and he thought they had powers, but he found they could not make peace, and nobody believed that they had any powers. That he had ſaid many ſuch things as he had thought fit in his conciliatory propoſition; he thought it a proper method of quieting the Americans upon the affair of taxation. If any perſon ſhould give himſelf the trouble of reading that propoſition, he would find not one word of it cor-

correſpondent to the repreſentation made of it by its framer. That the ſhort account of it was, that the noble Lord in that propoſition aſſured the colonies, that, when Parliament had taxed them as much as they thought proper, they would tax them no more. That he would vote for the preſent propoſition, becauſe it was much more clear and ſatisfactory, for neceſſity had cauſed him to ſpeak plain.

But if the conceſſion ſhould be found ample enough, and ſhould be found to come too late, what puniſhment will be ſufficient for thoſe who adjourn Parliament, in order to make a propoſition of conceſſion, and then had neglected to do it until France had concluded a treaty with the independent ſtates of America? That he could anſwer with certainty for the truth of his information; it was no light matter, and came from no contemptible authority; he therefore wiſhed that the miniſtry would give the Houſe ſatisfaction in this intereſting point, whether they knew any thing of this treaty, and whether they had not been informed previouſly to the making of their propoſition of a treaty, which would make that propoſition as uſeleſs to the peace, as it was humiliating to the dignity of Great Britain.

Mr. *T. Pitt* ſpoke with the greateſt firmneſs againſt the general ſyſtem of the miniſtry; ſaid, that the repeal of the ſtamp act was not only looked upon by the Americans, but by all Europe, as a ſolemn relinquiſhment of the claim of taxation; that the fatal renewing of that claim would coſt this nation thirty millions of money, beſides twenty or thirty thouſand lives; for he conſidered every American killed as a fellow-ſubject loſt.

Sir *Philip Jennings Clerke* ſaid, he could not carry his complaiſance ſo far as to thank the noble Lord for the propoſitions which he had produced, becauſe he conſidered it as an act of neceſſity, not of choice. The noble Lord, indeed, had ſaid, they ſhould be fair and equitable. Admitting them to be ſo, they paſs the ſevereſt cenſure on the noble Lord's conduct for theſe three years laſt, as they contain a total reverſal of all thoſe acts, and conſequently declare them to have been all unfair and unequitable. What ſatisfaction then could the noble Lord give to this injured country, for the millions of money and thouſands of lives which have been expended in this unequitable war? What reparation could the noble Lord make to the fatherleſs children and widows, and a great country, which he has made deſolate, and has oppreſſed?

The

The noble Lord, he ſaid, had taken credit to himſelf for having mentioned the word conciliation the firſt day of the ſeſſion. He was willing to allow him more; he talked of it, he ſaid, on the news of General Burgoyne's defeat; the noble Lord was alarmed and frightened, and he thought it neceſſary to throw out ſome lure to keep his friends together. Unluckily for this country, the noble Lord juſt at that time received a cordial which elevated him exceedingly; it was an offer from Mancheſter to raiſe a regiment: he raiſed his voice, and began to talk loud of the ſtrength and ſpirit of the nation, and turned his mind to his favourite object, the proſecution of the war. The Parliament was adjourned for ſeven weeks, and the noble Lord raiſed an army during their abſence: but he gave a bad ſpecimen of the ſtrength of this country; for he told us, that he could not raiſe ſeven or eight thouſand men in England, and was to get them from the Highlands of Scotland. So much for the ſtrength of the country. As to the ſpirit of it, he could only obſerve, that a good national ſpirit might be of infinite uſe to a country, well directed and well applied: but otherwiſe, it would have the ſame effect as ſpirit in a blind horſe; if you turn him looſe, it will make him run his head againſt the wall, and daſh his brains out. The noble Lord had lately ſaid, he had been a good friend to his country. Great men, he ſaid, ſhould be judged by their works, not their words. He wiſhed to take a comparative view of the ſtate of this country at the preſent time, with what it was in the time of the adminiſtration of the Earl of Chatham. That noble Lord had raiſed his country to the higheſt pitch of honour and glory; from the time he left adminiſtration, it has been gradually declining, and is now got to the very edge of a precipice, from which it is likely to fall, perhaps never to riſe again.

Ever ſince the noble Lord had been in adminiſtration, he had told the Houſe that he came to the helm when the veſſel was in danger, and he would bring her ſafe into harbour. The noble Lord had not proved ſo able a navigator as he thought himſelf to be; he carried too much ſail at firſt, and loſt his maſts in the ſtorm; he then began to throw all the valuable part of his cargo overboard; he had kept pumping, and pumping, and pumping, ever ſince, and can now hardly keep the veſſel above water. The noble Lord had now ſet up ſome jury maſts, but he would never be able to ſteer her ſafe into harbour; the paſſengers ſecurity was in imminent danger; they required, and had a right to demand, a better man to be put

put at the helm. It would be difficult, he ſaid, for any man now to free her from the impending danger; but it was juſt and fair to let ſome other perſon attempt it. But to drop the metaphor: the noble Lord, he ſaid, having failed of the means of coercion, had adopted another language; his hopes now were in the natural good diſpoſition of the people of America to this country. He did not think, he ſaid, the noble Lord was quite the proper perſon to gain upon their affections, or ſoothe them into compliance; if there was any chance yet remaining of recovering them from the power of France, and regaining their confidence, it was moſt likely to be effected by thoſe people who had always ſhown a good diſpoſition towards them, and not by thoſe who had taken every opportunity to ill-treat and abuſe them, who had added inſult to injury, and waded deep in their blood. If the door of conciliation was not already ſhut, it could be open only to ſuch men as they had reaſon to think had been well inclined towards them, and on whoſe friendly diſpoſitions towards them they might ſecurely place ſome confidence.

Mr. *Baldwin* declared he had been deceived by the miniſter; that three years ago he aſked him whether a revenue was meant by the claim? That he was anſwered, it was; and upon that ground alone he had hitherto voted with the miniſtry.

Mr. *Aubrey* ſaid, that he roſe to give his aſſent to the noble Lord's propoſitions, though with little hopes, he confeſſed, of their producing any good effect; for that, whatever the Americans might ſuffer by the continuance of the war, he could not be perſuaded they would ever be willing to receive the olive branch, when held out to them by hands ſo ſtained with the blood of their countrymen: but as he had, upon a former occaſion, been for a ſimilar queſtion, he thought it a duty he owed to conſiſtency, to be for the one propoſed by the noble Lord, as the avowed object of it at leaſt was peace. The time he had juſt alluded to, he ſaid, was the year 1775, when he voted for the motion which was made to the Houſe by an honourable gentleman [Mr. Burke] for the repeal of the American compulſory acts. He gave his vote then from two motives; one was, his being one of thoſe who, from the very beginning of theſe unhappy differences, thought the Parliament of Great Britain had no right to tax the Americans while they were unrepreſented in it; the other was, his thinking that ſuch a repeal, ſolicited as it then was by the united voice of the whole continent, would have brought things back

to

to their old ſtate of tranquillity and confidence. The great objection then made was, the dignity of Parliament. It was in vain to urge, that the beſt ſupport of dignity was juſtice; that maxim was out of date and unattended to. We began with condemning without firſt hearing, and proceeded accordingly. The conſequence has been, that we are now, after an enormous waſte of blood and treaſure, reduced to the neceſſity of giving up both the dignity of Parliament and the claim of taxation together. So much was clearly implied in the noble Lord's propoſed ſuſpenſion of the compulſory acts. But in the mean time, what have the Americans been doing? They, Sir, provoked, and rendered deſperate by our unrelenting rigour, have diſavowed all dependence on, and connection with, this country. They did this, likewiſe, at a time when their affairs wore but an unpromiſing aſpect; when their paper currency was in the greateſt diſcredit, their negotiations at the different courts in Europe were hopeleſs, and our army, that had invaded their country, was not only numerous, but victorious; an army, Sir, of which the Americans ſeemed to think as Hannibal thought of the Romans,

Quos opimus
Fallere & effugere eſt triumphus.

The balance of ſucceſs, however, has ſince that period turned in their favour. And if we were not able to avail ourſelves of their fear, I leave every man to judge, what the preſent miniſters have to expect from their affection. That their affairs are comparatively in a proſperous condition, and ours declining, muſt, I think, be evident to every one from the propoſitions now offered to us. It is true, that the noble Lord [Lord North] has, with an air of fortitude, juſt aſſured us, that "our army is great and powerful, and that our navy is great and powerful;" but would thoſe miniſters [Lords North and Germaine] who talked of nothing leſs than unconditional ſubmiſſion, and bringing America proſtrate at their feet, would they, Sir, have voluntarily repealed thoſe obnoxious acts, if they were not convinced that our ſtrength was inadequate to the conteſt? And do we at this time expect, that, after having reſiſted and baffled our utmoſt efforts, they will ever ſheath the ſword without ſufficient ſecurity againſt the injuries they have complained of being repeated? Will not the ſolemn official promiſe of Lord Hillſborough, (the making of which promiſe ought to be as much reſented by every member of the Britiſh Parliament, as the breach of it is by every American,) I ſay, will not that alone juſtify the Ame-

Americans in declining any negotiation with men, who, having thus laid the foundation of the war in perfidiouſneſs, have built upon it with cruelty? I cannot, therefore, flatter myſelf with the hopes of reconciling America with the propoſed bill. Thoſe privileges and immunities for which the Americans have ventured their lives and fortunes, they will not, now the hazard is ſo nearly over, truſt for a moment in the hands they have juſt reſcued them from. To what, then, does the preſent motion tend? Not to pacify the Americans, who will never be contented with terms, while they have reaſon to diſtruſt thoſe who offer them. No, Sir, it tends only to amuſe England by a deluſive proſpect of reconciliation, and thereby to ſuſpend at leaſt the vengeance of an injured and inſulted public.

Mr. *Grenville* aſſured the Houſe, he did not intend to trouble them, if he had not been particularly adverted to by the noble Lord, who denied that he had been miſled or deceived; that he roſe to aſſert again, with indignation, that he had been groſsly deceived by the uniform language of government for three years paſt; that, with regard to the preſent queſtion, the noble Lord had opened ſo little the nature of the commiſſion, that he was hardly prepared to comment upon it, but that his ardent wiſh was for peace. He then referred to the hint thrown out by Mr. Fox, of the alliance between France and America, and called upon the noble Lord to anſwer that fact, eſpecially as the information tallied with what he himſelf had heard from undoubted authority. That from the ſame authority he knew, that a very conſiderable body of forces had marched, within this fortnight, from the interior provinces of France, and that the language held by that power was of the moſt offenſive nature; he therefore inſiſted on having theſe facts anſwered, and concluded with reminding the Houſe, that theſe were the victories promiſed to them, this the revenue to the landed gentlemen, and this the triumph to Parliament: but aſſured government, that though he might differ from them, he would not hang upon any propoſition which looked like peace.

Lord *North* at length anſwered, that he could not ſay from authority that the treaty alluded to was ſigned: that, indeed, it was poſſible, nay too probable, but not authenticated by the ambaſſador.

His Lordſhip's motions were,

That leave be given to bring in a bill to enable his Majeſty to appoint commiſſioners to treat, conſent, and agree on the means

means of quieting the diſorders now ſubſiſting in certain of the colonies, plantations, and provinces of America.

That this propoſition be referred to the conſideration of a committee of the whole Houſe.

That leave be given to bring in a bill for declaring the intention of the Parliament of Great Britain, concerning the exerciſe of the right of impoſing taxes on the colonies, plantations, and provinces of America.

Which were agreed to without a diviſion. Adjourned to February 19.

February 19.

Conciliatory bills brought in and read.

February 20.

Same bills read a ſecond time and committed. Adjourned to February 23.

February 23.

Previous to the Houſe going into a committee on the two conciliatory bills, Mr. Serjeant *Adair* moved, that it be an inſtruction to the committee of the bill for appointing commiſſioners, &c. that they have power to make proviſion for nominating the commiſſioners by the bill. He ſaid, that this was no infringement on the prerogative of the Crown, this was no matter that lay within its ordinary fœderal capacity; it was a commiſſion appointed by Parliament, in order to treat about the rights of Parliament itſelf, the ſuſpending its laws and the ſurrender of its rights, or of what it had always conſidered or had claimed as ſuch; that for the Houſe to give blindly ſuch a power out of their hands, to be exerciſed at the mere pleaſure of the Crown, and by perſons to them utterly unknown, was in effect a complete ſurrender of the whole conſtitution of this country into the hands of the King; that, therefore, he thought himſelf bound to reſiſt this moſt unconſtitutional meaſure, by every means in his power; that as to any difficulties which might be ſuppoſed in the execution of this mode of appointment, they had been all completely got over in the Eaſt India bill, where, with ſuch ſufficient facility, Parliament had nominated commiſſioners for a matter of mere executive government, and one in which no parliamentary rights or powers were at all concerned; that he hoped, as himſelf and the gentlemen in the late minority had given, and would give ſo clear a ſupport to the conciliatory meaſures of the miniſter, late as they were adopted, he alſo hoped the miniſter, on his part, would likewiſe act a fair and candid part with them, and not take them in

in for a dangerous extenſion of prerogative, whilſt they were joining him in an attempt to reſtore peace to the country.

Mr. *Moyſey* oppoſed it, as taking the executive power out of the hands of the Crown. That to hold out to the world at this time, that Parliament entertained a jealouſy of the Crown, was not likely to promote the good effects which were propoſed by this bill. That it would be a violent act, after having empowered and directed the Crown to carry on the war, after having authorized the Crown to make peace, if it could have been effected by the ſubmiſſion of America, for the legiſlature on a ſudden to hold their hand and ſay, the Crown ſhall not negotiate for peace. That there was no inſtance of Parliament taking ſuch an appointment as this into their own hands, except in the reign of Richard the Seoond, which act was in a few years repealed in terms of reproach, as having uſurped upon the royal province. That the progreſs of ſuch a buſineſs in that Houſe would be attended with the groſſeſt inconvenience; that the Houſe muſt agree or diſagree among themſelves upon the nomination; if they diſagreed, that circumſtance of itſelf would be ſufficient to ſhew the impropriety of 550 people coming to an election of ſo important a nature; not to mention the inconvenience of ſuch a diſſenſion going over to America, or the awkwardneſs of a debate upon names and particular individuals. If, on the other hand, the Houſe agreed, and took at once the nomination of the King's miniſters, it would come to the ſame thing as if it had been left originally to the Crown, with this material difference, operating to their own diſadvantage—that, if the appointment ſhould be a bad one, they would preclude themſelves from all right of calling the miniſters to an account for miſadviſing the Crown, an inconvenience that would ever apply to every inſtance where an attempt ſhould be made to blend the legiſlative and executive power together.

Mr. *Wedderburne* ſaid, that the powers intended to be given by the commiſſion could not be ſafely executed but by perſons appointed by the Crown; that the Crown had been intruſted with the appointment of commiſſioners to treat upon the union of the two kingdoms, and had had power to ſuſpend the acts of Parliament which prevented the free trading intercourſe between the two kingdoms during the treaty; that they were ordered to keep the whole tranſaction ſecret, and that they had ſo kept it; that nothing could give a proper weight and ſupport to the commiſſioners but the perfect confidence which Parliament ſhewed that they repoſed in government;

ment; that the nominations of commiſſioners in that Houſe would prove a thing clearly impracticable, on account of the indecent, perſonal diſcuſſions that it would give riſe to; and he declared, that if that queſtion ſhould be carried, and the commiſſioners nominated by Parliament, he would be againſt the whole commiſſion, the bill, and the plan they belonged to.

Mr. *Fox* ſaid, nothing could ſo effectually defeat the purpoſe of the commiſſion, as the leaſt thought that Parliament repoſed any confidence in the preſent ſervants of the Crown; that this would be a perpetual ſubject of diſtruſt, jealouſy, and animoſity to the Americans; that this miniſtry, or any perſons of their appointment, could not have any title to the confidence of America. The miniſters were all the declared enemies of America, and were only brought to a late and abject ſubmiſſion, by a failure in their attempts to oppreſs them by force; that the commiſſioners whom they appointed muſt accordingly be perſons of their own ſtamp and character; perſons who would be more ſolicitous to ſcreen miniſters than to ſerve their country, and are qualified to irritate, rather than to appeaſe America; that the ſecretary of ſtate for the colonies (the author of all the violent and coercive meaſures) was by his office to have the nomination of the commiſſioners. Suppoſe, the firſt part of the terms ſhould be the puniſhment of that very miniſter, would the perſons nominated by him be impartial commiſſioners, and fit for their duty in ſuch a caſe? That he was aſtoniſhed at the inſolence of miniſters, who, when they ſhould be in ſackcloth and aſhes, for the ruin which they have brought on their country, were preſumptuouſly making demands of unlimited confidence, and calling to have the few remaining powers which had been left to Parliament ſurrendered into their hands, and be diſpoſed of at their pleaſure.

Mr. *Burke* ſaid, that the preſent was a queſtion of men: that the meaſure was decided upon, which was to give a full power to diſpoſe of all the legiſlative acts, and all the legiſlative powers of Parliament, ſo far as they concerned America. That there never had been ſuch a truſt delegated to men, and that therefore nothing ever was more important than the proper choice of them; that if miniſters had hitherto ſhewn, in any one inſtance, that they had formed a right judgment on men, he would admit, that they ought to be truſted with the nomination of men upon this occaſion. Next to honeſty, (which he would not diſpute with the miniſters) the ground of confidence in men was founded on two things: that they were

were incapable of deceiving others, and were alike incapable of being deceived themſelves. That the miniſters had been publicly charged in that Houſe, by thoſe who had all along ſupported their meaſures, with having deceived them; and their juſtification had been, that they were themſelves deceived in every particular relating to America. Now, take it which way you pleaſe, he ſaid, whether they were deceivers, as their friends aſſert, or deceived, as themſelves alledge, they are not fit on either ground to be truſted; that they, who had judged ſo ill of the men they had credited, in all their information concerning America, would not judge better in the choice of the men whom they nominated to get rid of the fatal conſequences of that ill information. That their conſtant defence, with regard to the ill ſucceſs of their army in America, was the incapacity, error, or neglect of the generals they had appointed; that though he did not believe this was the cauſe, yet, on their own confeſſion, they had made a wrong judgment of the perſons they had employed; and if they were ſo unhappy in the choice of generals, they would not prove more fortunate in their choice of negotiators. He apprehended, that no good could come of any negotiation whatſoever intruſted to their hands; that the affair was not too little to be undertaken by Parliament itſelf. If parliamentary rights muſt be negotiated upon, it was fit to be done by a committee of the two Houſes of Parliament.

In order to ſettle India affairs a committee of the Houſe had ſat in Leadenhall-Street; they might as well ſit in America; the object is more important, if the diſtance is greater; that he ſaw the drift of the whole; the miniſters thought to pay their court by extending the prerogative in proportion as they had leſſened the empire; and that this war (which was pretended to be made to prevent the King's having a revenue in America independent of Parliament, and to aſſert the power of the Houſe of Commons to tax all the Britiſh dominions) now terminated in a ſurrender of the right of taxation, and of all other parliamentary rights to adviſe or check the power of the crown.

Governor *Johnſtone* ſupported the ſame ſide. He blamed what he called the weakneſs of the argument drawn from the ſuppoſed impoſſibility of diſcuſſing the merits of the commiſſioners in that Houſe; ſaid, that it had not delayed the bill for regulating the Eaſt-India Company, for that the clauſe appointing the commiſſioners had been poſtponed until the reſt of the bill was finiſhed. He ſaid, that the commiſſioners

ought to be men of great weight, perſons, if not well, at leaſt not ill, affected to the Americans; men who were known to have an opinion of their own, not merely looking towards the court.

Mr. *Pitt* thought it not very material whether the commiſſioners were named by the Crown or by that Houſe; but was of opinion that they would be more reſponſible if they were named by the Crown. He hoped, that as they had proceeded ſo far with unanimity, that they would not now divide, except upon the moſt eſſential points.

Lord *John Cavendiſh* ſeemed to think the difference between ſending out commiſſioners by the Crown or Parliament was of much importance: but he conſidered alſo the expediting theſe bills to be ſo neceſſary, that he would have nothing ſtarted in the way of that object; that the miniſters had threatened the minority with the rejection of their own plan of reconciliation, if they were not to have it exactly in their own way; that the public would eaſily ſee who was the true mother of the child by the care of preſerving it.

The queſtion was put, and the motion rejected. The Houſe did not divide.

Mr. *Powys* moved an inſtruction to the committee on the conciliatory bills to receive a clauſe to repeal the Maſſachuſet's charter act.

The *Lord Advocate* ſupported it.

Mr. *Jolliffe*. I fear it will be neceſſary for me to take up more of your time than I could wiſh. Poſſeſſed neither of eloquence to pleaſe, or oratory to enforce my opinions, I am under the neceſſity of ſtating in ſimple language my ſentiments; ſentiments which flow from a heart anxious for the good of the ſtate, and a mind unawed and unbiaſſed but by a true regard for the intereſt of my country.

Sir, at the commencement of this war I troubled you with declaring my hearty averſion to it. I endeavoured to convince you that, ſhould it prove ſucceſsful, the utmoſt we could hope, the utmoſt advantage we could gain, was an abject ſubmiſſion of the colonies through fear; a ſubmiſſion which it was not the intereſt of this country to deſire, and which, as it originated in terror, muſt end in rebellion; for there is no axiom more true than that authority which is eſtabliſhed and ſupported by force alone may and will be reſiſted when that force is diminiſhed or removed; nor is any propoſition more clear, than that America, increaſing the number of her inhabitants,

bitants, muſt ſoon riſe above any apprehenſions from your power.

I told you, Sir, you might ſmother the flame with coals, but the fire would burſt forth in general conflagration; you might conquer, but you would never convince by the ſword. I then opened a more diſmal proſpect. I ſuppoſed (which was then received as viſionary and ideal) that your armies might be reſiſted, perhaps defeated; that, inſtead of ſeeing America at your feet, you might find her brave, reſolute, and determined; that the war might laſt ſome years; that you might ſhed your nobleſt, deareſt blood; that you might exhauſt all your reſources; that France might aid the colonies, and you not dare to reſent the inſult; that the kingdom might be reduced to the abyſs of diſtreſs in which it now is. I then aſked the noble Lord, who was and ſtill is the oſtenſible conductor of the affairs of this nation, what amends he could make to thoſe he had involved in this calamity; to thoſe gentlemen who credulouſly had pledged their lives and fortunes in ſupport of his meaſures. Having thus publicly avowed my averſion to the war, having ſtated in the ſtrongeſt language the conſequences which I foreſaw, I have been thought inconſiſtent in giving my ſupport to the continuance of what I diſapproved in the commencement. Sir, I aſk your forgiveneſs for entering into this matter; but it is a duty I owe my own character to reconcile my conduct. At that conjuncture, before the ſword was drawn, two alternatives offered themſelves, the one was plain, eaſy, and, to my underſtanding, obvious; it could have taken little time, it could have coſt neither blood nor treaſure; if it had failed, the laſt might have been adopted; with much better pretence we then might have drawn the ſword: a conciliatory conduct could not have inflamed the ſore, but hoſtility lacerated the wound, and has diſmembered half the empire. Before this cruel war commenced, I was anxious to obtain that tranquillity by lenient meaſures which hoſtility could never effect. The majority of this Houſe, the whole nation, were of a different opinion; they rejected the palm, and drew the ſword. Hoſtilities being commenced, and independence declared, the idea of accommodation vaniſhed; nothing but vigour could regain America; it called for unanimity, it called for all your exertions; it was my duty then to ſupport the honour of my country. When America defied our force, we ſhould have betrayed the very cowardice with which we have branded them, to have ſued for peace; as, while there was a poſſibility of conciliation, conciliatory meaſures ought to have been adopted; ſo,

when reconciliation was paſſed, force could only be met by force.

Sir, it is always painful to differ from thoſe we reſpect; and, in queſtions of ſmall importance, if every man was to follow his own caprice, no government could laſt a day; the buſineſs of this empire would be anarchy and confuſion: but when the fate of thouſands is at ſtake, when millions may be waſted, and an empire loſt, he ill deſerves to ſit here who can from any motive ſacrifice his opinion. It is not in the power of the Crown to bribe a man of property on ſuch occaſions. It is not an empire that can pay a man for his own deſtruction. Sir, ſince America hath avowed independence, and profeſſedly contemned your power, it is my ſincere opinion that the meaſures of government have not only been defenſible, but no others could have been adopted; and I am ſure no miniſter, who regarded his own ſituation, and wiſhed the real intereſt and honour of his country, could have purſued any other line but that of vigorous hoſtility. That vigour has failed, and indiſputably great blame and cenſure muſt fall ſomewhere; whether the neglect hath been in the inſtructions ſent from hence, or in the executing them, time and inquiry muſt determine: that inquiry cannot be diſtant, not only into the failure of General Burgoyne, but into the conduct of the whole war. Peace on almoſt any terms muſt now be obtained. It may be aſked, would you treat with the Congreſs? I ſay, Yes. Would you confer with rebels? Without a doubt. You have tried force, you have failed; without ſome terms, not only America is loſt, but this nation is undone. The whole nation call for peace, and if you have it not, there will be war at home.

Sir, I am ſorry on this, as on other occaſions, to obſerve, the noble Lord [Lord North] ſo blends every propoſition with much that I like, and ſomething that I diſlike, that although he gains my aſſent, I am unable to give him my hearty ſupport. As at the commencement of the war the addreſs was ſuch a mixture that it deprived me of giving my vote, ſo at this period, though I approve what is intended to be done, I diſapprove the mode of doing it; as I wiſh for peace, there appear to me more probable meaſures to accelerate it than thoſe now offered to your conſideration.

Sir, it is a maxim with me, it is one of my firſt ſtudies, when I confer a favour, to do it in ſuch a manner as ſhall render it moſt agreeable; when I make an offer, I would ſo model it as to render it moſt acceptable: whatever I mean to do, I love to do at once; whatever conceſſions we mean to make,

make, that ſhould be our firſt propoſal. I, Sir, deteſt the appearance of infidiouſneſs. Whatever this country means to concede to America ſhould be made the firſt ſtep; that firſt ſtep ſhould be palatable. Inſtead of ſuſpending the obnoxious acts, let us be open, and repeal them. The noble Lord avows an intention finally to repeal them, why not do it at firſt? America does and will ſuſpect you of deſigns if that is not your firſt meaſure. We are not in a condition to haggle: we have loſt an empire; it is an humiliating conſideration; but we are in the ſtate of ſuppliants. He that flatters us with contrary aſſertions deceives. Sir, I truſt we are not an undone people: but our greatneſs is vanity; that vanity has been our ruin. It is the fancies of our wealth and power that have undone us. It is the want of knowledge of our own ability and ſtrength, and our ignorance of that of our opponents that hath thus reduced us.

Sir, I have digreſſed, but will return to enforce my earneſt wiſh, the repeal of the obnoxious acts. Will not the repeal of theſe laws convince America that we are in earneſt in our declarations of amity? May it not ſow diviſions, and diſunite the Congreſs? May it not induce at leaſt ſome of the provinces to hold out a wiſh of conciliation with the parent-ſtate? While your acts ſtand unrepealed it is their intereſt to be united; remove the cauſe of that union, and the effect will ceaſe; remove this ground of jealouſy, ſhew them you are convinced of your own folly and raſhneſs, and their regard for you will return.

Suppoſe they have entered into any treaty with France, is not this the moſt probable means to render it void? Sir, if they are convinced of your ſincerity they will deplore that connexion, and will find ſome method to fruſtrate its ſucceſs. Suppoſe that every province may not unite in opinion againſt this propoſal, a treaty muſt be opened with that province which will alarm the reſt; until every thing is agreed on, no one province can ſafely join you; and as much time muſt be taken in treaty, that province who wiſhes to return to its connexions with this country muſt be ſubject to the attacks and depredations of the others, or muſt admit your troops, and then ſubmit to whatever terms you think proper to impoſe; if you repeal the acts, they may then open their arms to you, and they are ſafe.

The ſuſpenſion wears the face of infidiouſneſs, and you cannot imagine America ſo blind as not to ſuſpect ſuch a deſign: if it ſhould ſtrike them in this light, you will continue to alienate and provoke inſtead of ſoothing and attaching;

you will make them continue to believe that your offers of conciliation are not only feigned, but that the ſame plan againſt their freedom lurks behind the maſk.

Sir, I deprecate a Britiſh Parliament to be themſelves, to be open and liberal, to remember that they are treating with their children, and that the fate of the empire depends on this act.

Mr. *Ellis* ſaid, it was againſt the law of parliament to receive clauſes for the repeal of acts when two ſtages of parliamentary diſcuſſion were paſſed. To repeal a law was the ſame thing as to bring in a new bill, and ought to be debated both on the introduction and ſecond reading. He added, that no doctrine could be ſo dangerous to the liberty of the ſubject as to maintain a right in the Crown to grant charters independent of the power of parliament.

Mr. *Wedderburne* was of the ſame opinion.

Sir *William Meredith* replied, that no order of the Houſe could be pleaded in bar of receiving a clauſe for repealing thoſe acts that were obnoxious to the Americans; it was always in the direction of the Houſe. A clauſe to introduce novel, undigeſted, foreign matter, in the middle ſtage of a bill, ought ſeldom to be admitted. But it was the conſtant practice, not only conſonant to diſcretion, but even binding on the good-ſenſe of the Houſe, to receive clauſes that were eſſentially neceſſary to the execution of the law propoſed, more eſpecially in the caſe of repeals of bills that were fully known, and had already gone through their full courſe of diſcuſſion. So neceſſary was the repeal of the offenſive acts to the preſent bill, that without a total repeal it would be not only nugatory but miſchievous.

The right of charters being held independent of the power of Parliament had not been fairly ſtated. It had been ſaid, that a *charter being the act of one branch of the legiſlature only, could never ſtand againſt the united power of all the three branches of the legiſlature.* But there are ſuch things as unalienable rights; and the foundation of every unalienable right is this: when he who is competent to convey, *conveys*; and he who is competent to receive, *accepts*: ſuch conveyance on one hand, and acceptance on the other, whether by gift, purchaſe, or any other conſideration, conſtitute a right which, by the law and conſtitution of England, is *unalienable*, and, unleſs by conſent or forfeiture, cannot be taken away. Charter rights are at leaſt as ſacred as the rights of property. And what ſituation would property be, if it was an argument for depriving a man of his fortune, that the conveyance was the act of one

one man only, and could never ſtand againſt the united powers of the legiſlature of Great Britain? But if Parliament, which is inſtituted to preſerve, ſhould aſſume a power to violate private or public rights, that ſpirit which had often been ſo glorioufly and ſucceſsfully exerted againſt the diſpenſing power of kings would now be called forth againſt the diſpenſing power of parliaments.

February 24.

Mr. *Powys* moved for leave to bring in a bill to repeal the Maſſachuſett's charter act, which was agreed to.

The Houſe went into a committee on the two conciliatory bills.

Mr. *Burrell* ſaid, he had hitherto acted in ſupport of the meaſures of government, becauſe he had been perſuaded they were fighting for the rights of Parliament; that taxation was the primary object of the conteſt; that therefore he ſhould think it very unwarrantable to give up that ground till ſome conceſſions had been made by America. He ſtated ſome objections to the other bill, to enable his Majeſty to appoint commiſſioners. That the bill did not ſpecify on what ſubjects they were to treat, and on what they were not to treat. Were they to treat with the Americans on the ſubject of their independence? There was nothing in this bill to prevent them from doing ſo. He objected likewiſe to the power of cauſing a ceſſation of hoſtilities, and pointed out ſome inconveniencies attending it.

Mr. *Moreton* ſaid, he had very great objections to both the bills; but as he was not able at that time to go through with them, he gave notice, he meant to oppoſe them in ſome other ſtage, though this was the moſt regular time of doing it. But he ſtill declared his conſtancy in his old opinion concerning taxation, and that it ought to be enforced. He had likewiſe an inſuperable objection to the other bill, and that was, that it was in the power of the commiſſioners to treat on the independence of America: the very idea of ſuch a thing would encourage them to demand it. There ſhould be a clauſe in the bill to oblige the Americans to make a formal renunciation of that claim.

Lord *Beauchamp* was of the ſame opinion as to the renunciation of independence.

General *Fraſer* went through the whole ſubject of the American diſpute for theſe laſt fifteen or ſixteen years; gave his opinion on the ſtamp-act of the late Mr. Grenville, whom he ſpoke of in terms of the higheſt regard and affection. He thought the repeal of the ſtamp-act an unwiſe meaſure,

livered his own genuine and unbiaſſed ſentiments, he deſired to do juſtice to the ſentiments of thoſe with whom he ſhould be ſo unfortunate as to differ, on which ever ſide of the Houſe that difference might be. He was very far from thinking, that this war was originally cauſed, or had been kept up ſince, either by a ſpirit of oppreſſion on one ſide of the Houſe, or by a ſpirit of faction on the other. He was perſuaded, that there were very few gentlemen on either ſide of the Houſe, who had not all along acted, and who would not continue to act from the conviction of their own mind, and to the beſt of their judgment; a judgment, perhaps, far ſuperior to his own: but that it appeared to him, in a queſtion of this important nature, to be incumbent on every man to *form* an opinion, and much more ſo, when he had formed one, to *act up to it*. His opinion was not the opinion of the day: but had been the conſtant guide of his conduct; namely, *to have given the Americans ſome ſatisfaction on the ſubject of unlimited taxation, and to ſhew a willingneſs to reviſe the laws by which they might think themſelves aggrieved*; for though it is now ſaid, that revenue was not the object of the war, and that if it had, it would not have been worth contending for, yet he thought every body muſt allow, taxation was certainly the origin of the quarrel; it was the firſt cauſe of it; it was firſt in point of time, if not in point of *conſequence*; and though the queſtion was more complicated when he took his ſeat in the Houſe, yet he thought much depended on the firſt ground of the conteſt, as the ſubſequent ſteps might be only the conſequences of the different ideas of the two countries on that queſtion. He always thought till ſomething was done on this ſubject, there would be no end of the diſpute; as a proof of which, he referred to the two bills on the table. He had no doubt of the competency of Parliament to tax America; but on the other hand, he had no doubt of the unreaſonableneſs of our exerciſing this right before ſome limitation was put to it. This right was new in point of exerciſe. We had hitherto been contented with the reſtraints on their commerce. The conduct of the conſtitution in ſimilar but much leſs ſtrong inſtances, and above all, the peculiar ſituation of America, did in his opinion require us to *withhold the exerciſing* of this right, though in theory it certainly belonged to us. He entered at large into the reaſons that induced him to be of this opinion, which were chiefly the peculiar ſituation of America, which prevented the inhabitants of that country from having the ſame ſecurity that every *unrepreſented* individual here enjoys, becauſe he ſubmits to no tax but what the *repreſented*

pretended to receive the bill at firſt with great pleaſure, but have afterwards raiſed many objections to it.

This called up Mr. *Townſhend* and Mr. *Burke*, both of whom defended themſelves from the reflections thrown out by the laſt honourable gentleman on the conduct of that ſide of the Houſe: declared, that the moſt formidable objections to the body of the bills were made by thoſe who had all along ſupported the deſtructive war which gave occaſion to the preſent bills: on the other hand, what was the conduct of theſe gentlemen who had endeavoured to prevent things coming to the preſent unhappy criſis? Though they at firſt declared their fear, it was too late; they had given no trouble but what ſhewed their real deſire of the propoſitions taking effect. They yeſterday propoſed an inſtruction to the committee, which, if received, would only have given the bill more weight, and thoſe who are to execute it greater dignity. This, though certainly well intended, was urged with moderation, and was carried againſt them without a diviſion. Mr. Burke went through many of the former arguments with freſh vigour.

Lord *North* ſaid, he took that opportunity to declare, whatever different opinions there might be concerning the powers of the commiſſioners, that they would have poſitive inſtructions not to allow of, or to treat concerning, the claim of independency ſet up by America; they muſt treat as ſubjects, or not at all. He ſhould not now enter into a diſcuſſion concerning the diſſenſions between the two countries; he had gone into this at large a few days ago.

Mr. *Wilmot* ſaid, that though the motion for the Speaker to leave the chair was to go into a committee on the firſt bill, he begged leave to conſider the two bills as compoſing one plan; and though it was more regular to debate the various parts of them when they came to a committee, he could not help now ſaying, that he thought the bills upon the whole were extremely well calculated to anſwer the purpoſes for which they were intended; that there was a peculiar propriety in not inſerting in the bill a clauſe for obliging the Americans to reſcind their vote of independence; becauſe, if they treat at all under this bill, it muſt be *as ſubjects*, and the demand of ſuch a formal and expreſs renunciation, might prevent their proceeding at all in the treaty, though they ſhould otherwiſe wiſh it. He intended at preſent to ſpeak chiefly in favour of the *principle* of the bill; a principle he had been purſuing, and on which he had acted ever ſince he had a ſeat in the Houſe; namely, of reſtoring union and harmony, by a reviſal of the laws relative to America. That before he delivered

equally ſubmit to: and therefore, though he had no intereſt in the *actual* repreſentation, he ſafely confided that thoſe who make the laws, either by themſelves or their repreſentatives, will lay no unneceſſary burden, for if they did, all muſt equally bear a ſhare of it. But this was by no means the lot of the American: he muſt have ſubmitted to taxes, not only which he was not concerned in impoſing, but which thoſe who did impoſe them did not bear any ſhare of, and therefore he wanted that ſecurity for their equality and juſtice. He did not think this country would have abuſed this power by a grievous exerciſe of it: but he never underſtood it to be an argument in favour of a conteſted right, that the perſons who were to exerciſe it, would have the *goodneſs* not to abuſe it, and eſpecially when a tax was laid avowedly to eſtabliſh the *principle* of an unlimited right of taxation. That America ſhould contribute was highly reaſonable, and what America herſelf did not deny: but it was ſaid by a learned gentleman, that the real ſpring of the war was to cruſh a ſpirit of independence, that was always deſigned, and now actually ſet up in defiance of the legiſlature of this country. He ſaid, he did not mean to juſtify the Americans; their conduct in taking up arms juſtified us in repelling force by force: but he believed independence was no more *their* deſign in the beginning, than oppreſſion was *ours* at any period of the conteſt. If it was, there was no excuſe for not proceeding with more vigour at firſt, and no ground to hope for accommodation now. He confeſſed, he had ſtill hopes of a permanent reconciliation, chiefly founded on this, that the claim of independence was a *conſequence* of the quarrel, and not the original deſign of that country in its collective capacity, however ſome individuals might wiſh it: but ſaid, if he had thought the ſcruples of America concerning taxation leſs reaſonable than he did think them, he ſaw no ſolid objection before we had entered into this civil war, to the having ſatisfied the Americans on the ſubject of *unlimited taxation*, to having offered ſome ſecurity that we would not abuſe this power, that they might have known *explicitly* the footing on which we meant to put them *when conquered*, and which might perhaps have ſaved us that experiment. The caſe was now, indeed, a good deal altered. He wiſhed ſomething effective had been done ſooner, but hoped it was ſtill not too late.

Mr. *Van* cloſed the debate, and kept the Houſe in a continual laugh during the whole courſe of his ſpeech.

The blanks in the commiſſioners bill were filled up, and it was ordered to be reported.

February

February 25.

Order of the day to go into a committee on the bill relative to American taxation.

Mr. *Powys* moved, that it be an inſtruction to the committee, to receive a clauſe to repeal the American tea act paſſed in 1767. Agreed to.

Mr. *Burke* moved, that it be an inſtruction to the committee, to extend the proviſions of the bill to the Weſt Indies. Agreed to.

The Houſe went into a committee. The blanks were filled, and the bill ordered to be reported.

The following is a copy of the bills after they were amended.

A bill for declaring the intentions of the Parliament of Great Britain, concerning the exerciſe of the right of impoſing taxes within his Majeſty's colonies, provinces, and plantations in North America.

Upon the third reading, the title was altered thus:

For removing all doubts and apprehenſions concerning taxation by the Parliament of Great Britain, in any of the colonies, provinces and plantations in North America and the Weſt Indies; and for repealing ſo much of an act, made in the ſeventh year of the reign of his preſent Majeſty, as impoſes a duty on tea imported from Great Britain into any colony or plantation in America, or relates thereto.

WHEREAS taxation by the Parliament of Great Britain, for the purpoſe of raiſing a revenue in his Majeſty's colonies, provinces, and plantations in North America, has been found by experience to occaſion great uneaſineſs and diſorders among his Majeſty's faithful ſubjects, who may nevertheleſs be diſpoſed to acknowledge the juſtice of contributing to the common defence of the empire, provided ſuch contribution ſhould be raiſed under the authority of the general court or general aſſembly of each reſpective colony, province, or plantation:

And whereas, in order as well to remove the ſaid uneaſineſſes, and to quiet the minds of his Majeſty's ſubjects, who may be diſpoſed to return to their allegiance, as to reſtore the peace and welfare of all his Majeſty's dominions, it is expedient to declare, that the King and Parliament of Great Britain will not impoſe any duty, tax, or aſſeſſment, for the purpoſe of raiſing a revenue in any of the ſaid colonies, provinces, or plantations:

May it pleaſe your Majeſty,

That it may be declared and enacted; and it is hereby declared and enacted, by the King's moſt excellent Majeſty, by and

and with the advice and conſent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, in this preſent Parliament aſſembled, and by the authority of the ſame, That, from and after the paſſing of this act, the King and Parliament of Great Britain will not impoſe any duty, tax, or aſſeſſment whatever, payable in any of his Majeſty's colonies, provinces, and plantations in North America, or the Weſt Indies, except only ſuch duties as it may be expedient to impoſe for the regulation of commerce; the net produce of ſuch duties to be always paid and applied to and for the uſe of the colony, province, or plantation, in which the ſame ſhall be reſpectively levied, in ſuch manner as other duties, collected by the authority of the reſpective general courts, or general aſſemblies, of ſuch colonies, provinces, or plantations, are ordinarily paid and applied.

And be it further enacted, by the authority aforeſaid, That, from and after the paſſing of this act, ſo much of an act, made in the ſeventh year of the reign of his preſent Majeſty, intituled, "An act for the granting certain duties in the Britiſh colonies and plantations in America; for allowing a drawback of the duties of cuſtoms upon the exportation from this kingdom of coffee and cocoa nuts of the produce of the ſaid colonies or plantations; for diſcontinuing the drawbacks payable on China earthen ware exported to America; and for more effectually preventing the clandeſtine running of goods in the ſaid colonies and plantations," as impoſes a duty on tea imported from Great Britain into any colony or plantation in America, or has relation to the ſaid duty, be, and the ſame is hereby repealed.

A bill to enable his Majeſty to appoint commiſſioners, with ſufficient powers, to treat, conſult, and agree upon the means of quieting the diſorders now ſubſiſting in certain of the colonies, plantations, and provinces of North America.

For the quieting and extinguiſhing of divers jealouſies and apprehenſions of danger to the liberties and rights, which have alarmed many of his Majeſty's ſubjects in the colonies, provinces, and plantations of New Hampſhire, Maſſachuſett's Bay, Rhode Iſland, Connecticut, New York, New Jerſey, Pennſylvania, the three lower counties on Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia; and for a manifeſtation of the juſt and gracious purpoſes of his Majeſty and his Parliament, to maintain and ſecure all his ſubjects in the clear and perfect enjoyment of their liberties and rights:

Be

Be it enacted by the King's moſt excellent Majeſty, by and with the advice and conſent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, in this preſent Parliament aſſembled, and by the authority of the ſame, That it ſhall and may be lawful for his Majeſty from time to time, by letters patent under the great ſeal of Great Britain, to authorize and empower five able and ſufficient perſons, or any three of them, to treat, conſult, and agree, with any body or bodies politic and corporate, or with any aſſembly or aſſemblies of men, or with any perſon or perſons whatſoever, of and concerning any grievances, or complaints of grievances, exiſting, or ſuppoſed to exiſt, in the governments of any of the ſaid colonies, provinces, or plantations reſpectively, or in the laws and ſtatutes of this realm reſpecting the ſame; and of or concerning any aid or contribution to be furniſhed by any of the ſaid colonies, provinces, or plantations reſpectively, for the common defence of this realm, and the dominions thereunto belonging; and of and concerning any other regulations, proviſions, matters, and things neceſſary or convenient, for the honour of his Majeſty, his Parliament, and the common good of all his ſubjects.

Provided alſo, and be it further enacted and declared, That no regulation, proviſion, matter, or thing, ſo propoſed, treated, conſulted, or agreed, ſhall have any other force or effect, or be carried further into execution, than is herein after mentioned and provided, until the ſame ſhall have been confirmed by Parliament.

Provided alſo, and be it further enacted, by the authority aforeſaid, That in order to facilitate the good purpoſes of this act, his Majeſty may lawfully enable the ſaid commiſſioners, or any three of them, from time to time, to order and proclaim a ceſſation of hoſtilities, on the part of his Majeſty's forces by ſea or land, for any time, and under any conditions or reſtrictions, and ſuch order and proclamation to revoke and annul, in the ſame manner and form.

And be it further enacted, That it ſhall and may be lawful for his Majeſty, by ſuch letters patent as aforeſaid, to authorize and empower the ſaid commiſſioners, or any three of them, by proclamation under their reſpective hands and ſeals, from time to time, to ſuſpend the operation and effect of a certain act of Parliament, made and paſſed in the ſixteenth year of the reign of his preſent Majeſty, for prohibiting all trade and intercourſe with certain colonies and plantations therein named, and for the other purpoſes therein alſo mentioned, or any of the proviſions or reſtrictions therein contained, ſpecifying, in ſuch proclamation, at what times and places reſpectively,

tively, and with what exceptions and reſtrictions, the ſaid ſuſpenſion ſhall take effect; and the ſaid ſuſpenſion and proclamation, in the ſame manner and form to annul and revoke.

And be it further enacted, by the authority aforeſaid, That it ſhall and may be lawful for his Majeſty, by ſuch letters patent as aforeſaid, to authorize and empower the ſaid commiſſioners, or any three of them, to ſuſpend, in any places, and for any times during the continuance of this act, the operation and effect of any act or acts of Parliament which have paſſed ſince the tenth day of February one thouſand ſeven hundred and ſixty-three, and which relate to any of his Majeſty's ſaid colonies, provinces, or plantations in North America, ſo far as the ſame doth relate to them, or the operation and effect of any clauſe, or any proviſion or matter therein contained, ſo far as ſuch clauſes, proviſions, or matters, relate to any of the ſaid colonies, provinces, or plantations.

And it is hereby enacted, by the authority aforeſaid, That it ſhall and may be lawful for his Majeſty, by ſuch letters patent as aforeſaid, to authorize and empower the ſaid commiſſioners, or any three of them, and they are hereby authorized and empowered, to grant a pardon or pardons to any number or deſcription of perſons within the ſaid colonies, provinces, or plantations.

And, that no lett or hindrance may happen from the vacancy of the office of governor and commander in chief in any of the ſaid colonies, provinces, or plantations reſpectively, or from the abſence of ſuch officer from government, be it further enacted, by the authority aforeſaid, That it ſhall and may be lawful for his Majeſty, by ſuch letters patent as aforeſaid, to authorize and empower the ſaid commiſſioners, or any three of them, in any of the ſaid colonies, provinces, or plantations reſpectively, wherein his Majeſty hath uſually heretofore nominated and appointed a governor, to nominate and appoint from time to time, by any inſtrument under their hands and ſeals, a proper perſon to be the governor and commander in chief in and for any ſuch colony, province, or plantation, to have, hold, and exerciſe the ſaid office of governor and commander in chief in and for ſuch colony or plantation reſpectively, with all ſuch powers and authorities as any governor of ſuch province, heretofore appointed by his Majeſty, might or could have exerciſed, in as full and ample manner and form as if ſuch governor and commander in chief had been nominated and appointed by his Majeſty's letters patent or commiſſion; and for that purpoſe, if need be, to revoke, annul, and make void, any commiſſion or letters patent heretofore

tofore granted for appointing any ſuch governor or commander in chief.

And be it further enacted, That this act ſhall continue to be in force until the firſt day of June, one thouſand ſeven hundred and ſeventy-nine.

February 26.

No debate. Adjourned to March 2.

March 2.

Sir *Grey Cooper*. I riſe to move, that the bill for enabling his Majeſty to appoint commiſſioners, &c. be now read a third time: but before I make that motion, I will, with the indulgence of the Houſe, humbly offer my ſentiments on the very important ſubject-matter of both the conciliatory bills.

Sir, it appears to me, that when the propoſitions which theſe bills contain ſhall be ſent to America, and circulated through the revolted colonies, and when the terms which they offer ſhall be known, conſidered, and underſtood, they will, by degrees, induce every moderate man, and every man of property who is not too far embarked and engaged with the preſent governing powers, to conſent to a treaty with the King's commiſſioners, on the ground of a dependence on Great Britain, and on conditions beneficial and advantageous to both countries.

The terror of taxation by the Parliament of Great Britain has been for ſome time paſt the great power and prevailing influence by which the leaders of the revolt have poſſeſſed and governed the minds of the people; and, in my humble opinion, this plan of peace, founded on ſuch conceſſions, will tend more effectually to weaken the power, and to counteract the authority of thoſe leaders, than any meaſures which could have been taken in the preſent ſtate and circumſtances of things. When the owners of land, the planters of tobacco and rice, the growers of corn, the breeders of cattle, the proprietors of houſes and wharfs, know with certainty that they may not only have peace with Great Britain, but peace in perfect ſecurity, that they never ſhall in future be taxed, except by their own repreſentatives, in their own general courts or aſſemblies; all ſuch men will, all ſuch men muſt, be diſpoſed to conſent to a re-union with, and dependence on Great Britain on ſuch terms.

When they are recovered from the frenzy of fear which has ſo long diſtracted them, they will ſee, in its true light, the government under which they now live; inſtead of fœderal republic, compoſed of free ſtates, of which they dreamed, they will find and feel, when they are awake, the hard hand and

and rigorous control of an ariſtocratical government. It is in vain to impute blame to the rulers for this rigour and ſeverity. Uſurpation muſt be maintained by force: and if the mayor of New York, and ſome of the beſt and moſt reſpectable citizens of that city, have been impriſoned in the moſt arbitrary manner, and tried and condemned contrary to all legal forms; if the good people of Albany have been under perſecution; if the Quakers have been baniſhed for conſcience ſake; if every man who has continued faithful to his King and country; if every neutral and moderate man be ſurrounded by ſpies and informers; if their motions be watched, their ſteps counted, their letters opened, their houſes entered, their papers ſeized, their perſons impriſoned, without cauſe aſſigned, or charge exhibited; theſe are the neceſſary and inevitable conſequences and effects of ſuch a government.

When the people compare their preſent ſtate and condition with that mild and equal government under which they lived, grew, proſpered, and flouriſhed, that recollection cannot paſs over their minds without touching and reviving ſome of the affections and charities of former relation and connexion, which, though covered and obſcured, are not, I truſt, obliterated by the preſent moſt unhappy animoſities.

They will be at liberty to compare their dependence on Great Britain, on ſuch terms, with an alliance with the court of France. To Great Britain they are united by religion, government, laws, language, habits, affection, and relation. From Great Britain they derive their ſpirit and their love of liberty; and from the charters granted by the Kings of England, and the uſage under thoſe charters, which is certainly the beſt intrepretation of them, they derive thoſe free conſtitutions, on which they juſtly ſet ſo high a value.

They muſt, when they are at liberty to make an election, be carried, by the irreſiſtible impulſes of the human heart, towards that country which they uſed to call their home.

An alliance of the Britiſh colonies with the French King againſt their mother-country is moſt unnatural, and can only be dictated by deſpair. The alliance of a high-ſpirited free people with a deſpotic government; the religion of the ſevereſt proteſtants, with a great, powerful, and ambitious catholic ſtate; the plain and ſimple manner of the Americans, with the faſhions, cuſtoms, and character of a high-poliſhed and luxurious nation. The clay and the metal will not cohere. Miſery may make men take up with ſtrange companions for a time, but ſuch connexions cannot long ſubſiſt; and indeed we have ſeen, in point of fact and experience, that the manners and habits of the French and the Americans do

not accord better the more they know each other, as moſt of the French officers who ſerved in General Waſhington's army quitted that ſervice before the cloſe of the campaign.

But it is ſaid, that it is now too late to offer theſe terms of peace to the revolted colonies, and that at this time no ſucceſs can be expected from the commiſſion to treat with them. Sir, it is my humble opinion (which perhaps at firſt ſight may appear ſomewhat ſingular and refined) that theſe meaſures at this time have a fairer proſpect of ſucceſs, than they would have had at the beginning of the troubles. In the firſt conflict of their paſſions after the ſtandard of revolt was ſet up, in the firſt fits of their reſentment, they were perhaps more intractable and unmanageable, more animated againſt this country, more deaf to the call of reaſon, the feelings of nature, or the motives of intereſt, than they may be when the bills and the commiſſion arrive in America.

They have ſuffered the diſtreſſes and calamities of war raging in their provinces, which I lament as much as any gentleman in this Houſe, or in this kingdom; but which, in my conſcience, I think the violent counſels of the leaders of independency have brought upon them. They have been put to feel the galling yoke of the government which they have choſen. They have had time to think. They have had *ſpatium requiemque furori.* But the great leading conſideration is this: men, under the preſſure of any real or imaginary grievance, ſubmit with wonderful patience to every perſonal and domeſtic diſtreſs; they can ſee, without depreſſion of ſpirit, their wives, their children, and all that are dear to them, without the comforts and even neceſſaries of life. For where the greater malady is fixed, the leſſer is ſcarce felt. But conceſſion, and a redreſs of grievances, will reſtore them to a ſenſe of feeling. When the mind is free, the body is delicate.

Such is the reaſoning, and ſuch are the concluſions upon which my hope of the ſucceſs of theſe moſt arduous and important meaſures is formed. It is grounded alſo on the beſt information of the preſent ſtate of the temper and turn of the minds of the people, which I have been able with ſome diligence to procure. I have converſed with many perſons of knowledge and credit; I have read many letters conveying the opinions of intelligent writers on the ſubject; and though I am aware that all ſuch intelligence ought to be received with great caution, and that it often comes to Great Britain diſcoloured by the prejudices through which it paſſes in the minds of the perſons who ſpeak or write on the preſent conteſt; yet I think I am juſtified in believing, from

all

all the evidence taken together, that the ground is in many places prepared for the ſeed.

But it is ſaid, that a great obſtacle to the ſucceſs of theſe meaſures ſtill remains; for though it be granted, for argument's ſake, that many men of property and moderate principles may be inclined to return to a dependence on Great Britain on ſuch terms, will they be able to accompliſh their wiſh, and to carry their inclination into effect?

It muſt be confeſſed (as was obſerved by an honourable gentleman [Governor Johnſtone] on the ſecond reading of the bills) that nothing but a pretty general conſent of the community can bring the leaders to liſten to any terms of accommodation with Great Britain. Sir, I own I entertain an idea, that the turn and temper of the minds of the majority of the people in the colonies, at this hour, ſomewhat reſemble thoſe of the people of England juſt before the Reſtoration. When the reins of government fell from the weak hands of Richard Cromwell, and when Fleetwood and Deſborough, with the Rump Parliament, governed the kingdom, the Preſbyterians joined with the Royaliſts againſt the dominion of the Independents, and the tyranny of the army. When Monk moved from Scotland, nineteen men of property out of twenty wiſhed for the reſtoration of the old government. At the head of his veteran forces he called a free parliament, after he had extinguiſhed the power of Fleetwood and his officers. Monk did not force the nation to recall the royal family; he did nothing more than, with great management and addreſs, conduct and ſupport the inclination and wiſhes of the community. When the gracious declaration from Breda was circulated through the nation, and the King's letter to the Commons was delivered by Mr. Grenville, and read in the Houſe, the whole country ſtarted into action, and the reſtoration was brought about with a rapidity and effect perfectly inconceiveable ſome months before; and when the King arrived at Canterbury, and was received with ſuch acclamations of joy and expreſſions of affection, he aſked where all the men had lived who had done ſo much miſchief?

It will be anſwered, and cannot but be admitted, that there are many circumſtances in the two caſes diſſimilar; but I hope and truſt, that, with reſpect to the inclination and wiſhes of the people at both the periods, the reſemblance will be found to be ſtrong. But be that as it may, and whatever be the event, I ſhall ever think that the meaſures

which theſe bills are calculated to carry into execution, will and ought to do great honour to the noble Lord who propoſed them to Parliament.

Earl *Nugent* ſaid, he wiſhed the Americans joy of their new charter; and added, that in the bills coming on he hoped the Houſe would be unanimous, for, in his opinion, that was the only thing that could ſave this nation.

Lord *North* moved, That the bill declaring the intentions of Parliament relative to taxing America be read a third time.

Mr. *Walter Spencer Stanhope*. The awe and embarraſſment which oppreſſes every attempt of mine to ſpeak in this Houſe, and which I feel particularly oppreſſive at this moment, is ſufficient at all times to keep me ſilent. It has done ſo through the courſe of this ſeſſion hitherto, and would do ſo now; but that, after a regular attendance during every ſtage of the progreſs of a bill, unexpected, important, as the preſent, were I now, at the third reading, to let it paſs without ſaying a few words upon the ſubject, it would be, in my opinion, for ever to cloſe my lips in this Houſe, and *de pedibus ire in ſententiam*, as long as I may have the honour to ſit in it for the future. Sir, the noble Lord, on his firſt introduction of the bills now before you to your conſideration, did very candidly, and with great propriety, call for the clear, unbiaſſed, well-conſidered opinion of every member in the Houſe. It is my purpoſe, Sir, to give what I do aſſure him is an unbiaſſed and well-conſidered opinion. I will endeavour to make it as clear as I can, and as ſhort. With reſpect to the time when it has been thought expedient to bring theſe propoſitions before the Houſe, I ſhall ſay very little. It is impoſſible for a private individual, without more adequate means of information, without a poſſibility of forming a comprehenſive and complete judgment upon the ſubject, to decide with juſtice upon it now. If it ſhould in future appear that the golden opportunity has been ſuffered to eſcape, cauſeleſsly to eſcape, and by the ſhameful delay of two or three weeks only; then, Sir, it will, it muſt, become matter of highly criminal inſpection, and of ſolemn judicial inquiry, hereafter. At the preſent, therefore, I forbear to give any opinion upon it; for, late as this meaſure certainly was brought in, when it did come, it was introduced by a ſpeech from the noble Lord that breathed ſuch a ſpirit of candour, and glowed with ſuch a fervency of expreſſion; he ſhewed, in a ſituation certainly ſomewhat awkward and embarraſſing,

ſuch earneſtneſs of mind, and ſincerity of heart, to effect the good work of peace; his conceſſions were ſo ample, his plan was ſo promiſing, that I own, for once, I wiſhed him heartily ſucceſs. I was willing to hope the time was not yet too late, the opportunity not yet paſſed; I wiſhed no advantage in debate might be taken of any unguarded expreſſion, any imprudent declaration, he might in the honeſt warmth of his diſcourſe have incautiouſly hazarded; for ſuch there undoubtedly were: as, "That taxation was at no time, in his opinion, an object worth fighting for; that the Congreſs, in 1774, made claims totally inconſiſtent with any dependence whatſoever upon this government; when, in 1775, he ſent over only 5000 men to encounter a claim ſo hoſtile and alarming.". Theſe were imprudent and unwiſe aſſertions; but I wiſhed them to paſs unnoticed, when I heard him ſtate, as the firſt part of his plan (though the bill ſtands ſecond in the order of the day), "That in order to induce the colonies to treat concerning the repeal of acts of Parliament, when, by the very act of treating, they muſt, by way of preliminary, and virtually, at leaſt, renounce the independence they have aſſerted, it would be neceſſary to aſſure to them ſome previous and conſiderable advantage, by way of equivalent; therefore taxation for the future ſhould be renounced." And here, that I may not have occaſion to recur to it hereafter, I muſt fairly ſay, that the bill for the relinquiſhment of taxation is perfectly conſonant, not only to the letter, but to the ſpirit of what the noble Lord then advanced. The ambiguous expreſſion of the "exerciſe of the right of taxation," has been ſtruck out, the immunity has been extended to the Weſt Indies, and a clauſe has been admitted to repeal the tea act.

I am extremely ſorry I cannot give the ſame commendation to the other bill. Let me recall to your recollection, Sir, the manner, and the ground upon which that was introduced by the noble Lord, as the ſubſequent part of his plan. He told us, "That on account of the diſtance of America from hence, of the want of any perſons preſent here, who could conſent on her part, and for a variety of other reaſons, it was impoſſible the treaty could be negotiated in Parliament; therefore it became neceſſary to appoint commiſſioners, to be entruſted by Parliament with very ample and extenſive powers, both with reſpect to perſons and things, particularly with the very extraordinary power of ſuſpending acts of the legiſlature: that, for this meaſure, extraordinary as it was, a precedent was to be found; a ſimilar power had been veſted

by Parliament in commiſſioners in the reign of Charles the Second." In this manner, Sir, was the bill upon your table firſt introduced to the Houſe; and ſo introduced, I gave it my hearty vote and aſſent. Ought the vote I then gave to influence and direct my vote of this day? Should I be inconſiſtent in now diſapproving this bill? Or is this bill no longer the ſame, either in its principle or proviſions, as that for which I have already voted? This, Sir, is what I mean to examine; for I ſtill think the meaſure, as it was firſt explained, a meaſure of wiſdom; and have heard no arguments that have changed my opinion in that reſpect. I am not at all alarmed, either by the argument of a very learned gentleman [the Lord Advocate of Scotland] early in this buſineſs, who endeavoured to point out the pernicious conſequence of allowing a ſuſpenſion of the prohibitory bills, or by the forcible manner in which he endeavoured (as he expreſſed himſelf) to drive it out of the noble Lord by dint of reaſoning; and if he failed in that, intreated him upon his knees, again and again, to conſider, before he allowed of ſuch a power, before he admitted a poſſibility of the Americans pouring, unmoleſted, into the harbours of France and Spain, the collected produce of three ſucceſſive harveſts, the greateſt part of which our frigates had blocked up in their warehouſes. He was anſwered, that the acts of navigation would take place upon ſuch a ſuſpenſion, and thoſe the commiſſioners would have no power to ſuſpend. That anſwer, in my opinion, does not at all apply to the objection of the learned gentleman. The acts of navigation are, to all intents and purpoſes, at this moment ſuſpended; and ſo they muſt remain, till peace is thoroughly re-eſtabliſhed throughout America. Great Britain cannot perform the part ſhe ſtipulates to perform by the acts of navigation. She has no officers in the reſpective ports of America to grant the clearances, permits, or thoſe papers, by whatever name they are called, without which ſhe expects no American veſſel to navigate the ſeas. How then is it poſſible, in juſtice, or in common ſenſe, to expect that America ſhould perform the part required of her by thoſe acts, or ſubmit to the alternative of paying you a heavy penalty, for ſailing without thoſe papers, which it is impoſſible for her to procure, which it is not in your power to furniſh her with? But was the objection ever ſo well-founded, or ever ſo alarming, there is one ſhort anſwer to it; that the power of ſuſpending the prohibitory acts, that is, of declaring a ſuſpenſion of arms by ſea, appears

pears to be abſolutely neceſſary for the purpoſe of bringing on any treaty at all, or even any conference about a treaty. Not, Sir, that I think there is the ſmalleſt reaſon to be alarmed at the effects of ſuch a ſuſpenſion. The commiſſioners may grant it upon condition; though I own my opinion is, that they will be obliged to grant it without any condition at all. But at firſt it will undoubtedly be only for a very ſhort time, much too ſhort for the evil conſequences to enſue, which the honourable gentleman ſeems ſo much afraid of. Indeed the commiſſion itſelf cannot take up any great length of time; and, in all probability, the gentlemen will be able to judge, almoſt to a certainty, of the event of their negotiation, in a very few days after their landing.

Another objection was juſt hinted, with much appearance of delicacy, by a right honourable gentleman, of great and approved talents for foreign negotiation. [Hans Stanley.] But, Sir, ſo far from bearing hard againſt the bill, it is, if any thing, an argument in favour of it. It was this; that if once we admitted the independence of America, ſo far as to commence a treaty with her as ſuch, what reaſon could we give why France or Spain ſhould not do the ſame? And was it not highly probable they would? Sir, if we are ſo thoroughly exhauſted and debilitated, if our ſtrength is waſted ſo much away, and our ſpirit bowed ſo very low, as to crouch and humble at the power of France, and meanly acquieſce in her inſults and encroachments; in that caſe, Sir, the idea of the right honourable gentleman may ſerve us for a miſerable pretext to hide our weakneſs and our ſhame. But if we have aught of our former vigour left, or a ſpark of our ancient enmity remaining, ſuch a flimſy pretence, I am ſure, will never divert the reſentment, or for a ſingle moment ſuſpend the vengeance that haughty power deſerves but too abundantly at our hands.

Another right honourable gentleman [Welbore Ellis] objected very roundly to the bill, becauſe he thought it did in effect give ſubſtantial independence to America. So far, Sir, I ſhall agree with him, that the terms this bill holds out are ſo near independence, that, though certainly much leſs diſadvantageous to this country, the difference between them is not worth fighting for; moſt indubitably much leſs worth fighting for than taxation was; and the noble Lord has lately found out, that he never thought that an object worthy the conteſt. This, Sir, however, can be no argument with me, who hold, that, heavy, and almoſt intolerable, as the loſs of America

muſt be, it is leſs deſtructive totally to relinquiſh, if we cannot by treaty regain, our right to that of which we have been unable to retain the poſſeſſion, than to devote what remains of the empire, than deſperately to riſque the very exiſtence of this country and our happy conſtitution, upon the wild, abſurd, and hopeleſs attempt to ſubdue by arms the whole continent of North America. With reſpect to the effect of theſe conceſſions producing all but a nominal independence to the colonies, that, Sir, I think, will very much depend upon the manner in which the continental paper-money ſhall be funded; for funded it muſt certainly be, if the collection of the taxes to be levied for providing the intereſt of ſuch funds is entruſted to the hands of the crown. On the crown the Americans will ſtill remain dependent. The old policy of King William, the preſent policy of the Nabob of Arcot, will be renewed acroſs the Atlantic; all the monied men there will be intereſted to ſupport the funds, and the government who have the management of thoſe funds. And then the high tone of prerogative and ſupremacy will ceaſe there, as it has done here, and in its room the milder voice of influence will be heard and attended to; it will be more peaceable and perſuaſive, but as effectual and productive to the full.

Having gone through theſe objections, and attempted to ſhew why my opinion is not affected by them, I recur to the queſtion: Is this bill, either in the letter or the ſpirit of it, conformable to what the noble Lord gave us to expect, when he firſt introduced his propoſitions? He quoted a precedent in the reign of Charles the Second. I have examined that precedent. The act is the 19th of that prince, cap. 13. It was made with a view to bring about an union with Scotland, and enacts, "That twelve commiſſioners be appointed with full power and authority to ſuſpend, &c. according to their diſcretion." In conformity with this precedent, the noble Lord brought in his bill, which runs, "That commiſſioners be appointed, with full powers to agree, to treat, to ſuſpend, and to pardon, according to their wiſdom and diſcretion." In this ſhape the bill was committed; but in that committee it has been ſo materially changed in its clauſes, ſo fundamentally altered in its principle, that I do not heſitate to pronounce every man perfectly free of the charge of inconſiſtency, who, having voted for this bill at the outſet, ſhall reject it now, as no longer what it then pretended to be; nay, there is but one poſſible reaſon upon which

which I ſhould think myſelf juſtified in conſenting this day that the bill ſhould paſs, and that is, that I have it not in my power to amend it; and imperfect as it is, it is better than no bill at all. But let us examine the alterations that have been made. They were introduced by a learned gentleman [The Attorney General] without any argument, and with but one very ſhort obſervation, which had more the air of a *dictum* from the bench, than that of free diſcuſſion which is uſual in committees. All he ſaid was, that it was thought neceſſary to make the amendments that were made, leſt the clauſes, as they ſtood before, ſhould interfere with the inſtructions under which the commiſſioners were to act. It was not ſhewn wherein the clauſes might interfere, or whether their interference, if any there might be, would be prejudicial to the purpoſes of the bill or not; but, ſimply and ſhortly, that it was thought neceſſary to make them. The neceſſity of ſo doing has not been demonſtrated to me; and ſo far from being able myſelf to diſcover it, I can ſee innumerable reaſons againſt it. What is it that gives occaſion for this bill in the firſt inſtance, that makes it expedient to entruſt to commiſſioners the high and dangerous power of ſuſpending acts of Parliament? Is it not the preſſure of the time, the vaſt diſtance of America from hence, the complicated nature of the acts ſhe complains of, that can alone juſtify the law we are now paſſing, that ſuggeſts to us it is better to hear before we determine, to ſuſpend rather than repeal, and to delegate that power of ſuſpenſion to the wiſdom and diſcretion of commiſſioners upon the ſpot, rather than blindly to exert it in the ordinary courſe of legiſlation here? To this purpoſe was the precedent adduced; to this it is ſtrictly in point; and as ſtrictly and abſolutely deciſive againſt the alterations made in the committee. The act of Charles the Second appoints commiſſioners with full powers to ſuſpend certain acts and clauſes of acts of Parliament even here in England, at no greater diſtance than Newcaſtle, or Berwick upon Tweed. Is not the argument then incomparably ſtronger in this caſe, where the place of treaty is to be in America, acroſs three thouſand miles of ocean? Yet, notwithſtanding this precedent was produced by the noble Lord himſelf; notwithſtanding the ground upon which the whole bill is founded is, that the plenipotentiaries upon the ſpot will be better able to judge what is fitting to be done than Parliament, or any other perſons who are not upon the ſpot; notwithſtanding this, the committee have thought proper to expunge every word in the bill that extended to give a diſcretionary power to the commiſſioners, without which the

bill

bill becomes, in my opinion, abſolutely waſte paper: and as it now ſtands, it is ſolely to veſt in his Majeſty's miniſters a ſuſpending power out of Parliament, and that the form of it ſhall be by way of inſtructions to commiſſioners, inſtead of the uſual mode, by bill in the two Houſes. This is a thing for which no precedent has been, or can be, produced; it is directly in the teeth of the precedent produced by the mover of the bill; and will itſelf form a new one, of a more alarming and deſtructive tendency, than all that any violent or deſpotic miniſter has yet been able to warp to an evil purpoſe. Why are we to do this? Why are we to truſt nothing to the diſcretion of the commiſſioners who are to go to America, and repoſe unlimited confidence in the ſuperior wiſdom and diſcretion of the miniſters, who are to remain here? Have we hitherto found their wiſdom ſo preventive, their foreſight ſo intuitive, or their information ſo infallible, as to prefer their bare conjecture at this diſtance, to the actual obſervation of thoſe who will be upon the ſpot? But further, Sir: It ſhould ſeem as if this demand which is now made to Parliament, to delegate their own eſſential and peculiar rights; queſtionable as it is with reſpect to their power conſtitutionally to do it; highly diſagreeable, and to be juſtified only by the moſt extreme neceſſity, as the exerciſe of ſo delicate a power, ſuppoſing them to have it, muſt be: it ſhould ſeem, I ſay, as if what is now required was not ſufficiently unpalatable in itſelf, but that peculiar pains had been taken to render it ſtill more diſguſting. We are neither permitted to have the nomination of the commiſſioners, which, I think, would have been highly proper, nor are even thought worthy to be told the names of thoſe whom we are about to inveſt with an authority greater than the ſovereign himſelf poſſeſſes. Yet this authority, under theſe circumſtances, am I willing to give them; becauſe I hold it to be indiſpenſably neceſſary they ſhould have it. But if it be ſo indiſpenſably neceſſary, ought not only to be willing to give it them, but abſolutely certain they ſhould have it. Can I ſay, as the bill now ſtands, that I am certain of that? Do I not know it is liable to be fettered by reſtrictions I have not conſented to, and mutilated by inſtructions I may never ſee; nay, which I preſume I never ſhall ſee? For thoſe who could refuſe us a ſight of the inſtructions to Lord and General Howe, without even the ſlighteſt pretence of a reaſon for ſo doing, will undoubtedly be equally unwilling to indulge us with a ſight of theſe, even after the event of the commiſſion ſhall have been determined; as was the caſe when thoſe former inſtructions were moved for and refuſed. And yet I was told

by

by a leader of that majority who refuſed me ſo much as a ſight of thoſe inſtructions, that there was a conſtitutional remedy to reſort to in this caſe; that the miniſters ſtood anſwerable for the inſtructions they gave; reſponſibility reſted, as it ought to do, with them, as principals, and not with the commiſſioners acting under their direction. Sir, in the pure and virtuous times of the republic, when Rome was Rome, I know that there was really a power in the ſtate, that could make miniſters feel and tremble for their reſponſibility. I have read of miniſters that have loſt their heads, on account of the civil troubles their oppreſſive government had occaſioned. But in theſe days, with Parliaments ſo conſtituted, with the power of the purſe ſo unlimited, when the very individuals that blame and condemn miniſters without doors, ſupport and vote for them within, to talk to me of the reſponſibility of a miniſter, is a mockery and inſult to my underſtanding; and I ſhould pay as much attention to a grave diſſertation on the enforcement of knight's-ſervice, or the legality of ſhip-money, or any other obſolete queſtion, as to an argument founded on the reſponſibility of miniſters.

Sir, the more I conſider the reaſons I have urged, the more I am convinced the bill ought not to have been altered in the committee in the manner it has been; but yet, changed and mangled as it now is, and ineffectual as I much fear it will prove, I am not ripe to give my vote againſt it; I dare not do it. I dare not reject any attempts, however feeble and unpromiſing, that have peace with America for their object, particularly this, which is the firſt ſymptom of a change in that diſtempered and fatal ſyſtem which has reduced us to our preſent miſerable condition. I ſhall rejoice exceedingly to find that that reaſon has the ſame weight with other gentlemen it has with me; and that, diſapproving, and deſpairing of good from the preſent, they will yet forbear to give it any violent oppoſition, and ſuffer it to paſs at leaſt without a diviſion.

I have now, Sir, finiſhed what I wiſhed to ſay upon this queſtion. But yet I cannot ſit down without obſerving how very extraordinary it is, that the Secretary for the American department, the great efficient officer to give effect to theſe bills, has thought proper to obſerve the moſt profound ſilence concerning them, though he has conſtantly attended every ſtage of their diſcuſſion. I ſtile it only extraordinary at preſent; becauſe I truſt he has reſerved himſelf till this day, to give his opinion at large upon them. But ſhould he perſiſt in his taciturnity, and cautiouſly ſhelter himſelf under a reſerve he may deem as prudent as it is myſterious, his conduct will

ſurely

ſurely then be highly diſreſpectful and indecent to this Houſe. What! ſhall we truſt the correſpondence with the commiſſioners, the inſtructions to be ſigned, the principal direction of this great work of conciliation, to a man, whoſe ſentiments, the laſt at leaſt he has thought proper to declare upon the ſubject here, were, that he would ſooner cut off his right hand than ſign a treaty with rebels with arms in their hands? Has he changed his opinion in that reſpect, or does he hold this Houſe too cheap to tell them whether he has or not? I cannot perſuade myſelf, Sir, that this can be the caſe; and therefore all I have further to ſay is, that if it were in my power, it is by no means my intention, to force the noble Lord to get up ſo early in the day. I am too conſcious, that when the great leaders in this Houſe take any early part in any debate, they illuſtrate the queſtion with ſuch pointed argument, they illuminate it with ſuch brilliant eloquence, that it is impoſſible for any young and unexperienced member to attempt to get up after them. Happy for ſuch it is, if they can catch a moment before the attention of the Houſe has been too long tried, or the queſtion too much exhauſted! they will then find that patient indulgence with which I have been honoured this day. No one, I fear, could deſerve it leſs; none, I am ſure, can be more grateful for it.

Mr. *Moreton* ironically congratulated Lord North upon the cordial aſſiſtance he had received from his new allies. But ſaid, the taxation bill could not paſs into a law, without a new conſtitution in America; becauſe the ſubjects of Great Britain, wherever they are, are taxable by the Parliament of Great Britain, whoſe power has no bounds. If the Americans are not taxable, he deſired any lawyer or politician would ſhew him by what law they were exempted; and if they are not exempted by any law, he deſired the gentlemen of the learned profeſſion to which he had the honour to belong would tell him whether they were exempted by the prerogative of the crown; and if ſo, whether it was in any of their charters. He knew of but one, Maryland; and the man who put the ſeal to that charter ought to have been impeached. If they were not exempted, either by law or the King's prerogative, they ſtill remained taxable; unleſs ſome gentlemen did ſuppoſe Parliament had loſt its right of taxing them, by non-uſage. He dreaded therefore the conſequence of this meaſure even more than the doctrine. Then went into a long ſtate of the danger of raiſing money in America by requiſitions from the crown; by which revenue, ſo raiſed, the King might be enabled to govern this country without Parliaments. Next he went

into an inquiry, what could give riſe to this ſudden converſion, that in all ages and countries was commonly attended with ſome material communications or viſitations, ſuch as, they met ſomebody on the road, or going into the city, who had illuminated their underſtandings. That as none ſuch had come to him, he muſt remain in his old opinion, unconverted.

Mr. *Dundas* [Lord Advocate] ſaid, while he thought it was practicable to tax America, he was always for it. But when General Howe was obliged to leave Jerſey, he began to entertain doubts of its ſucceſs; and the misfortune to General Burgoyne afterwards was experience ſufficient, and warranted him in ſaying, that the taxation of America by the Britiſh Parliament had been found to be impracticable. No miraculous illumination could ever perſuade him that government ſhould attempt impracticable things. If we are not able to ſubdue America by force, we muſt mix with our meaſures ſomething that may lead to conciliation.

Mr. *Gilbert*, after expreſſing his concern that the affairs of the public were greatly neglected, and that a committee ſhould be appointed to inquire into the expenditure of the public money, particularly into the exorbitant contracts and abuſes of office, and the exorbitancy of office fees; he declared his reſolution, the firſt time Lord North went into the ways and means, to propoſe a tax of one fourth upon the incomes of all placemen.

Mr. *Wilkes*. I have not given the leaſt oppoſition to the progreſs of either of the conciliatory bills, which have been brought into this Houſe by adminiſtration. I thought it the part of candour to acquieſce, to ſuffer the bills to go through the committee without interruption, and to receive every improvement, which the noble Lord with the blue ribband [Lord North] who firſt introduced them among us, or any of his friends on the other ſide of the Houſe, choſe to ſuggeſt or adopt. We are now, Sir, in poſſeſſion of a plan, with much care reviſed and corrected by the oſtenſible miniſter here, in the full expectation of its being equally pleaſing and palatable on both ſides the Atlantic as well as this Houſe. The great outlines indeed, Sir, oppoſition muſt approve, for they are undoubtedly their own. They were long ago traced out by themſelves, although the ſpirit of them now is gone. Other means than thoſe of coercion have been long ſteadily urged. The noble Lord with the blue ribband has as liberally borrowed their ideas as the Chancellor of the Exchequer means to borrow their money on Friday, when he opens the budget. The gentlemen on this ſide the Houſe have frequently propoſed a reviſion

of

of all the acts complained of by our American brethren. Above three years ago a parliamentary reviſal of thoſe ſtatutes was warmly preſſed on the miniſter, and it is not three months ſince I had the honour of ſubmitting to the Houſe a motion for the repeal of thoſe very acts, which, in a leſs conſtitutional mode, commiſſioners are now to be authoriſed to ſuſpend. I made that motion, Sir, while America was ſtill free to negotiate, ſtill free from all foreign treaties, or ſolemn engagements, as independent ſtates, with any of the great powers of Europe. There is ſcarcely an idea in either of the two acts, for gentlemen ſeem to agree to conſider them together, which has not been ſuggeſted by oppoſition. The "ceſſation of hoſtilities on the part of his Majeſty's forces by ſea and land;" "the granting a pardon or pardons to any number or deſcription of perſons within the ſaid colonies, provinces, or plantations;" "the treating, conſulting, and agreeing with any body or bodies politic and corporate, or with any aſſembly or aſſemblies of men, or with any perſon or perſons whatſoever, of or concerning any grievances, or complaints of grievances exiſting or ſuppoſed to exiſt in the government of any of the ſaid colonies, provinces, or plantations reſpectively, or in the laws and ſtatutes of this realm reſpecting the ſame;" "the treating of any aid or contribution to be furniſhed by any of the colonies, provinces, or plantations reſpectively;" "the not impoſing any duty, tax, or aſſeſſment whatever, payable in any of his Majeſty's colonies, provinces, and plantations in North America, except only ſuch duties as it may be expedient to impoſe for the regulation of commerce;" all theſe important conſiderations have been repeatedly urged to the miniſter, while the ſword ſtill ſlept in the ſcabbard, before the late deluge of the blood of the ſubjects of this empire in an unjuſt and unnatural war. At laſt more is offered than was aſked. A repeal of all the obnoxious acts ſince the year 1763 only was propoſed. The miniſter now agrees to ſacrifice the ſtatutes of almoſt another entire year, for he gives up all the acts ſince the 10th of February 1763, the infamous æra of the peace of Paris, by which the moſt valuable conqueſts of a glorious war were ſacrificed. Whence can ſuch a change ariſe?

I obſerve, Sir, that ſeveral gentlemen have this day mentioned their converſion, the æra and cauſe. A very learned advocate [H. Dundas, Eſq. Lord Advocate for Scotland] has ſaid that he was converted when Sir William Howe was forced to retire from the Jerſeys. Another honourable gentleman [Charles Baldwyn, Eſq.] tells us, that he was converted when General Burgoyne capitulated at Saratoga. Waſhington and Gates,

Gates, Sir, are certainly very powerful apoſtles. I ſhould not be ſurpriſed if General Howe himſelf was at laſt converted. I believe the æra of the noble Lord's converſion is not far diſtant. I ſuſpect it happened at the ſucceſsful moment of the late American negotiation in France, which I greatly fear has eſtabliſhed their independence. It is impoſſible not to be charmed with the gentle, meek, ſupplicating, humiliating tone of the noble Lord at the preſent moment. We hear no more of the vengeance of the ſtate againſt daring rebels. The harſh diſcord of war no longer grates on our ears. Peace, harmony, reconciliation with our brethren, are the enchanting ſounds with which we are now raviſhed. The terrible exterminating miniſter of wrath no longer alarms the revolted coloniſts with *Quos ego*. The noble Lord, with no leſs policy than pity, ſoothes them, and in mild accents ſays, *motos præſtat componere fluctus*. I much fear, however, Sir, the colonies will never be gathered together again under his miniſterial wing.

The two conciliatory bills are, in my opinion, more calculated for this country than America. They appear only meant to quiet the minds of the people here, and to amuſe this kingdom, not to regain the colonies; but I truſt the day of reckoning, and of exemplary puniſhment, approaches. The preſent dead calm forebodes a furious tempeſt. The bills hold out what miniſters know to be a fallacious hope, a reconciliation with the coloniſts on terms ſhort of independence. The object is merely to ſcreen miniſters from the indignation of the public, and the vengeance of the people. There can be little doubt of this, when the very words of the acts, in the ſtate they firſt appeared here, are conſidered. The preamble of one of the acts was, "Whereas the exerciſe of the right of taxation by the Parliament of Great Britain for the purpoſe of raiſing a revenue in his Majeſty's colonies, provinces, and plantations, in North America, has been found by experience to occaſion great uneaſineſſes and diſorders, and has by ſundry miſrepreſentations been made the means of miſleading many of his Majeſty's faithful ſubjects." Theſe words are a kind of ſecond declaratory act, in which the right of taxation is aſſerted at the inſtant you give commiſſioners powers to ſuſpend it. Was this meant as a healing meaſure? Could miniſters really intend to confer a favour, as they affected to think, and yet chooſe the moſt offenſive, the moſt obnoxious, the moſt galling expreſſions? The preamble to the other conciliatory bill is liable to the ſame ſtrong objection. It is, "for the quieting and extinguiſhing of divers jealouſies and miſrepreſentations of danger to their liberties and legal

legal rights, which have miſled many of his Majeſty's ſubjects in the colonies, provinces, &c." Muſt not ſuch expreſſions be neceſſarily conſidered by the Congreſs as the language of high and direct inſult? The commiſſioners muſt derive all their powers from theſe two acts of the legiſlature, in which the Americans were accuſed and upbraided. Are theſe the winning, perſuaſive arts of peace and reconciliation? Was a reconciliation really intended, or have miniſters only in view to delude the nation, and to incenſe them againſt the Americans, with the abſurd hope of at laſt compelling them to an unconditional ſubmiſſion?

Adminiſtration, Sir, thought the game deſperate, and had only in view their own ſafety, the preſervation of their power, and perhaps a facility in the enſuing loan. They knew the ſolemn declarations of the Congreſs to ſome of the greateſt powers of Europe ſo early as December 1776, and confirmed laſt November, the baſis of which reſted ſolely on their independence. They poſſeſs it *de facto*. I fear we ſhall be obliged to give it them *de jure*. If the preſent propoſitions are rejected, we cannot heſitate in preferring the acknowledgement of their independence to an expenſive and bloody war, in which at laſt conqueſt is admitted to be an impoſſible and frantic attempt. We ought to enter into a fœderal union with them, and endeavour to ſecure the advantages of the moſt important trade with America by a commercial treaty, which would be reciprocally advantageous to both countries. Unleſs, indeed, the eloquence of our commiſſioners can effect what the force of our arms has in vain attempted, their relinquiſhing the claim of independence. The adminiſtration are perfectly acquainted with the various commercial engagements of the coloniſts, from which they cannot recede. It appeared, likewiſe, that the military as well as the civil have concurred in reprobating every idea of a dependence on this country. The ſceptre of America is departed from Britain. Three months after the Britiſh army had taken their capital, the ſeat of the Congreſs, Philadelphia, Waſhington gave it out in general orders from head-quarters, December 17th, "We may on the beſt grounds conclude, that, by a ſpirited continuance in the meaſures neceſſary for our defence, we ſhall finally obtain the end of our warfare, independence, liberty, and peace." In October 1774 the Congreſs humbly ſupplicated his Majeſty for peace, liberty, and ſafety. Since that period ſafety had been ſecured to them by their own proweſs, except, indeed, on ſome parts of their very extenſive coaſt. They had ſince been driven into independence, and *began to taſte* its ſweets. We had cancelled all the ties by which

which the two countries had long held together; and ſince we had forced them into a very reluctant warfare, they held to the people and the army, as its great end, the manly language of independence, liberty, and peace, America was driven to deſperation. It is now as to us a boſom friendſhip ſoured to an implacable hatred. We have wantonly burnt her towns, butchered her men, women, children, even infants at the breaſt, maſſacred the captives in cold blood, ſcalped the dying and wounded, and carried fire and ſword through her moſt fertile provinces. What a contraſt has their conduct been to a whole Britiſh army and general who capitulated! What a nobleneſs in turning away from the humiliating ſpectacle of Engliſh ſoldiers piling their arms by word of command from their own officers! Are our miniſters weak enough to expect to cajole America with a parchment act, at the moment they declare that they deſpair of conqueſt by the ſword? The idea muſt to them be perfectly ridiculous, when the Americans recollect that the noble Lord with the blue ribband, at the beginning of the war, had propheſied that they would be ſoon at our feet; and the noble Lord at the head of the American department had inſiſted on unconditional ſubmiſſion. The Americans had now tried their ſtrength and found their reſources, both on their own continent and in Europe, adequate to all their views. They ſaw the world in admiration of their firmneſs and fortitude, in the warmeſt applauſe even of the military achievements. The zeal of the French nation in their cauſe roſe to the higheſt pitch of enthuſiaſm, and even this iſland might ſay to America, in the words of Horace, "*te cede gaudentes Britanni compoſitis venerantur armis.*"

The honourable gentleman [Sir Grey Cooper, Bart.], Sir, who made you the motion for the third reading of the bill, ſays, the Americans will ſee "that we do not mean to tax them." They have no confidence, Sir, in any of our profeſſions or promiſes. The act of parliament of the ſeſſion, or the ſecretary's official letter, they hold in equal contempt. In 1765 there was ſo great a ſtagnation of our commerce in conſequence of the ſtamp-act, that in the following year that unjuſt, as well as uncommercial act, was repealed, and all the ſources of trade between Great Britain and her colonies were again opened, and flowed in full abundance. Notwithſtanding this, in the very next year duties to be paid in America were impoſed on tea, glaſs, paper, and other articles, which threw the whole empire again into convulſions. America ſaw that we were not to be confided in during the ſhort period of a ſingle year, and that no tie, even of our own

intereſt, could bind us to any terms of future ſecurity for them. It is impoſſible, without the higheſt indignation, to reflect from what a height of proſperity we are now fallen into an abyſs of miſery and ruin. The diſpoſitions of America in 1766 were moſt friendly and affectionate. The wiſe meaſure of the repeal of the ſtamp-act diffuſed univerſal joy through the thirteen now revolted colonies. At Philadelphia, in May 1766, they unanimouſly came to the following generous reſolution, "That, to demonſtrate our zeal to Great Britain, and our gratitude for the repeal of the ſtamp-act, each of us will, on the fourth of June next, being the birth-day of our moſt gracious ſovereign George the Third, dreſs ourſelves in a new ſuit of the manufactures of England, and give what homeſpun we have to the poor." What were the unanimous reſolutions of the Congreſs, not ten years after, in the very ſame town? Our enemies have publiſhed them to the world with mockery and triumph. With what perfidy has the province of the Jerſeys been treated! When that province returned to its allegiance, was it reſtored to the free exerciſe of its trade and commerce, and to the ſame protection and ſecurity, as if it had never revolted? Or did that province continue under the *ban* of the empire, as a lucrative job to the friends of the miniſter? Yet the miniſter, in the King's name, at the opening of the ſeſſion of Parliament in October 1775, ſolemnly held out ſuch promiſes to the Americans. It is impoſſible the coloniſts can have any confidence in ſuch miniſters, or their agents or commiſſioners; and unleſs men, as well as meaſures, are changed, no permanent reconciliation can be effected. Our perfidy may, indeed, poſſibly be retaliated upon us in a mock treaty and a deluſive negotiation, but no ſtable, ſolid peace can be obtained by the authors of their grievances.

The ear of England, Sir, is rankly abuſed by miniſters, who pretend to aſſure us of pacific diſpoſitions in the colonies, and a deſire to return to their dependence on the parent ſtate, when not the leaſt ſymptom of ſuch a nature has appeared. Has the Congreſs, or any one colony, made the leaſt overture to a reconciliation ſince their declaration of independence? Have not the Americans expreſſed the utmoſt abhorrence of the miniſters who are to nominate the commiſſioners, inſtead of a diſpoſition to treat with them? And will they entertain a more favourable idea of their creatures? I muſt declare that I ſee nothing in the intended negotiation but diſgrace and humiliation on our part, after our repeated injuries, and a lucrative job for five bold hungry dependents of the miniſter. Would to God, Sir, I may be miſtaken, and that the

commiſſioners

commiſſioners may return to Europe with unenvied wealth and bloodleſs laurels. Their grateful country will honour them to its lateſt poſterity. Their fame will be immortal.

An honourable gentleman [Edmund Burke, Eſq.], one of the greateſt ornaments of this Houſe, ſays, that he obſerves great benevolence among us towards the Americans. I heartily wiſh that I could diſcover it. Among three ſets of gentlemen which have been mentioned this day I fear the Americans have very few friends. All the dependents of adminiſtration, the large majority in this Houſe, who have voted all the cruel and oppreſſive acts now to be ſuſpended, have certainly no great benevolence towards the Americans. Thoſe who are accuſtomed to pace in the trammels of a deſpotic miniſter, and to be obedient to his ſovereign nod, naturally abhor the enthuſiaſt for liberty, the uncontrolled ſpirit of the ſons of freedom. I ſuſpect, likewiſe, that there is not much good-will towards our fellow-ſubjects in the colonies among the inhabitants in the northern parts of our own iſland. It would be a curious ſpeculation to inveſtigate the cauſes of the marked hatred of the Scots in general to the Americans. Is it, Sir, that although ſome ſmall parts of America are almoſt overrun with Tories, as others are with different deſtructive animals, yet there ſcarcely ever was found a ſingle Jacobite in all our colonies? Are the Scots in deſpair, becauſe they have not been able to find any thing in North America congenial with them? They cannot there mingle treaſon with treaſon. Is it that, believing the preſent reſiſtance in the colonies to partake of the nature of a true rebellion, they are jealous of ſuch an uſurpation of the Americans on their peculiar prerogative? Scotland ſeems, indeed, the natural *foyer* of rebellion, as Egypt is of the plague; but, Sir, no monopolies in this commercial country are permitted. Mancheſter and Liverpool would oppoſe ſuch a monopoly, and juſtly claim no ſmall ſhare in it, from their vigorous efforts in favour of the Pretender in 1743. It will, Sir, be a new and curious ſpectacle in 1778 to mark the North pouring forth her hardy ſons to quell an American, not to aid a native, rebellion, carefully nurſed in her frozen boſom, and afterwards in a tainted part of England kindly tendered and foſtered in its progreſs to the ſouth. The third ſet of perſons lately mentioned are the country gentlemen. I reſpect the character, but I fear many of them are hoſtile to America and American rights. They are, for the moſt part, very ſteady, not burdened or perplexed with many ideas, and perhaps with few of a very liberal nature. A ſingle principle appears of late to have governed them. They hoped to throw off from their ſhoulders on

the poor Americans a conſiderable part of the enormous burdens, under which they groan, of the debts of their late adopted German, and the preſent American, war. The noble Lord with the blue ribbon had aſſured them of a ſolid and ſubſtantial revenue from America. On this plan of private economy to them the miniſter bargained for their ſupport. Their diſappointment, and the ſenſe of his jockeyſhip, has undoubtedly much chagrined them, but I will not dwell on this ſubject. Their eyes ſeem to be opening, juſt as they are drowning.

Another honourable gentleman [Thomas Gilbert, Eſq.] complains that every thing reſpecting the public is in a great degree neglected, and that ſome of our moſt important concerns are ſcarcely regarded. He has accordingly, with much good-ſenſe, held out to the Houſe the idea of a committee to examine into the expenditure of the public money during this war. I agree with him, that nothing is now ſecure, or indeed properly taken care of, except the proteſtant ſucceſſion. His propoſal meets my full and warm approbation. Another committee, however, ſeems to me ſtill more immediately neceſſary, a committee to inquire into the nature and cauſes of the failure of the Canadian expedition, for we cannot hide the nation's ſcar. I am ſorry to be informed that the Houſe is to be prorogued at Eaſter, for I fear we cannot in this ſeſſion undertake both theſe important concerns. The inquiry into the Canadian expedition, the loſs of a Britiſh army, and the horrid cruelties committed on our fellow-ſubjects, is of the firſt importance, both to vindicate the honour of our ſovereign, and the humanity of the nation. I am ſhocked, Sir, at the falſe rumours daily ſpread, and the foul reproaches caſt on the common father of all his people. It is repeatedly circulated in print, Sir, that on the 17th of October, after Burgoyne's capitulation, in which Gates demonſtrated a refined delicacy of honour, unparalleled in European armies, the Britiſh General was received with reſpect, and dined with the American hero; that nothing unkind was ſaid to him, except aſking, how he could find in his heart to burn the poor country people's houſes wherever he paſſed, and that he anſwered, it was the King's orders. From all the letters of Burgoyne it has been repeatedly aſſerted, that the project of the Canadian expedition originated from the cloſet of the King and the office of the American ſecretary; and that the employing the Savages againſt our fellow-ſubjects was among the primary ideas adopted on that occaſion. The American ſecretary, in a letter to General Carleton, dated Whitehall, March 26, 1777, ſays, "As this plan cannot be advantageouſly executed without

without the affiſtance of Canadians and Indians, his Majeſty ſtrongly recommends it to your care to furniſh both expeditions with good and ſufficient bodies of theſe men. And I am happy in knowing that your influence among them is ſo great that there can be no room to apprehend you will find it difficult to fulfil his Majeſty's intentions." In the "Thoughts for conducting the war from the ſide of Canada, by General Burgoyne," which were approved by the King, Burgoyne deſires a thouſand or more ſavages. Colonel Butler was directed to diſtribute the King's bounty money among ſuch of the ſavages as would join the army; and, after the delivery of the preſents, he aſks for 4011*l.* York currency, more, before he left Niagara. Burgoyne's barbarous proclamation appears now to be only a conſequence of his ſanguinary inſtructions. General Gates's letters have informed the world with what ſavage ferocity and cruelty the Indians carried on a war, to which they were ſo ſtrongly invited. An Indian campaign is known to be productive of every ſpecies of torture, to which the human frame is ſubject. In the laſt campaign ſcarcely fewer women and children in ſome parts where the war raged with the greateſt fury, expired under the torture of the tomahawk and ſcalping-knife, than were killed by the ſword and bayonet among thoſe who bore arms. Colonel Butler's letter to Sir Guy Carleton of July 28th ſays, "many of the priſoners were, conformable to the Indian cuſtom, afterwards killed." Has the ſecretary at war yet thanked the ſavages in the King's name for their alacrity? I have not had time fully to examine the numerous papers on our table, and therefore I am ignorant whether we have any letter from his Lordſhip ſimilar to that from the war-office, of the 11th of May 1768, "that, having had the honour of mentioning to the King the behaviour of the detachments from the ſeveral tribes of Indians, which have lately been employed in the ſcalping and tomahawking his American ſubjects, he has great pleaſure in informing the General that his Majeſty highly approves of the conduct both of the Indian chiefs and the men, and means that his royal approbation ſhould be communicated to them through the General. Employing Indians in ſuch a ſervice gives him [the humane ſecretary at war] pain, but it is neceſſary. He hopes they will continue to perform their duty with alacrity. Every poſſible regard ſhall be ſhewn to their zeal, and they ſhall have the protection of the law and this office under every diſagreeable circumſtance."

Mr. Burgoyne held himſelf out as an active agent on this

occaſion, not by the ſlighteſt mention of any ſuppoſed military talents, but by ſuch an abject flattery of the American ſecretary, as I hope no other man in Europe could commit. He declares, in a letter to Lord George Germaine, dated from Hertford-ſtreet, Jan. 1, 1777, "I humbly laid myſelf at his Majeſty's feet for ſuch active employment as he might think me worthy of. This was the ſubſtance of my audience on my part. I undertook it, and I now report it to your Lordſhip, in the hope of your patronage in this purſuit. A hope, my Lord, founded not only upon a juſt ſenſe of the honour your Lordſhip's friendſhip muſt reflect upon me, but alſo upon a feeling that I deſerve it, in as much as a ſolid reſpect and ſincere perſonal attachment can conſtitute ſuch a claim." In his letter of June 22, 1777, he ſeems to have fully entered into the ideas of his principal; for he ſays, "that he met the Indians yeſterday in Congreſs, and gave them a war feaſt, according to their cuſtom," of which war feaſt we know the moſt ſolemn ceremony to be drinking human blood out of the ſkulls of their enemies. In the ſame conference he conſents to the mangling of the dead, for he ſays, he "allowed the Indians to take the ſcalps of the dead." Surely, Sir, an inquiry into thoſe horrors, and the failure of an expedition, which has not only diſgraced our arms, but obſcured the name of Engliſhmen, and fixed a foul ſtain on our national character, is ſtill more worthy of our inquiry than even the waſte of public treaſure, although we are, I fear, if the war continues, too near the brink of a general bankruptcy.

I obſerve, Sir, that gentlemen have this day been very fond of giving advice to miniſters. I am not fond at any time of giving advice, but I will for once follow the example. My advice then, Sir, to adminiſtration is, to ſupplicate his Majeſty to order an immediate ceſſation of arms in North America, and to recall his forces. Humanity and juſtice call aloud for this meaſure. The miniſter has at length confeſſed, we cannot conquer America. To what purpoſe then are more torrents of blood to be ſhed? The Americans will accept, or they will reject, your propoſitions. If they are accepted, the war is at an end by conceſſion. If they are rejected, the end of the war, conqueſt, has been found, and is now acknowledged to be, impracticable. The ſhedding of the blood therefore of a ſingle man for an object, which confeſſedly cannot be obtained, is not only unjuſtifiable, but highly criminal. Many of the meaſures of oppoſition have been at length adopted by miniſters. I hope this, the moſt important of all, will have

the

the ſame ſucceſs. An immediate ceſſation of arms was propoſed the very firſt day of this ſeſſion by an excellent young nobleman on this ſide the Houſe. [Marquis of Granby.] It will do more than all your commiſſioners can without it. Perhaps it may ſave Howe from the fate of Burgoyne. It will give time for cooling on both ſides, and at leaſt ſhew that you are relenting towards your brethren, that you are eager for that peace and reconciliation, which alone can form the ſolid happineſs of both countries, and muſt be devoutly wiſhed by every friend in each, to their mutual proſperity. It may ſave the fragments of this diſmembered empire; for I own I ſhall tremble for the fate of Canada, nearly loſt three years ago, Nova-Scotia, the two Floridas, and the Weſt-India iſlands, if the powerful confederacy of the thirteen united colonies continues.

Sir, I heartily wiſh ſucceſs to theſe two conciliatory bills, and that we may regain by treaty, what we have loſt by tyranny and arms. I would agree to almoſt any treaty, rather than continue this ruinous war, which has coſt already above thirty millions ſterling, and the loſs of twenty thouſand men. I entirely approve the effort, although I have my fears that it is made too late. *Sat benè ſi ſat citò!* let the experiment however be tried, and may both Britain and America again form one powerful empire, on the principles of equal liberty, juſt, mild, commercial, and tolerant! We ſhall then be able to ſtand the ſhock of all the adverſe powers of the world, again be feared and reſpected abroad, and at home a great, united and happy people.

Sir *George Yonge* propoſed a rider, to declare, agreeable to the bill of rights, that any diſpenſing power in the Crown was illegal; and that this bill ſhould not be drawn into a precedent.

Mr. *Thurlow* [Attorney General] ſaid, the propoſed rider was unneceſſary, and might have imputations charged upon it that were hurtful. Was indifferent whether accepted or not; but thought it moſt prudent not to bring the matter into diſcuſſion.

The rider was withdrawn,

Upon the queſtion being put, "that the bill do paſs,"

Mr. *Baker* remarked, that a noble Lord at the head of the American department, who was to ſign the inſtructions, and through whoſe hands, officially, the buſineſs of the treaty with America was to paſs, had not deigned to ſay one word, whether he approved the meaſure or not; whether he had

adopted as yet the ideas of peace, or ſtill retained the ſpirit of war, and thoſe principles of coercion, with which he came into office?

Lord *George Germain* ſaid, that the noble Lord who had brought forward this meaſure, and had brought in the bills, had ſo fully, to all points, explained, that it was unneceſſary for him to ſay the ſame things in much worſe words. But, however, whenever called upon, he was very ready to give his approbation to the meaſure. That he did it on the exigency of the times, and upon the preſent circumſtances of the caſe; upon the ground of expediency he heartily concurred in the meaſure.

Mr. *Burke* then aroſe; and by miſunderſtanding, or not perfectly comprehending, the noble Lord, called for ſome more explicit declaration of the ſentiments of that miniſter, who was to give the buſineſs its form, and to ſign the inſtructions.

Lord *George Germain* then roſe to explain himſelf farther, and ſaid, I am clear to ſpeak to the point of the conſtitution, in every ſentiment which I ever held. What I ſaid, as quoted by the gentleman, was ſaid upon the then ſtate of the caſe. But if circumſtances are changed, ſo muſt meaſures change. What I then ſaid I was juſtified in by the ſenſe and concurrence of Parliament. The caſe is now changed; and what I now ſay, the exigencies of the preſent circumſtances equally juſtify; and in which I ſee alſo I have the full concurrence of Parliament. There is no change of ſentiment in me. What the caſe requires, and what the ſenſe of Parliament adopts upon ſuch caſe, it is my duty to follow, and I will execute with my beſt zeal, and to the utmoſt of my abilities. He then ſaid, that although the honourable gentleman was perfectly verſed in the forms of buſineſs and office, yet he was miſtaken, in ſuppoſing that he, as Secretary for the American department, was to give the inſtructions, or to ſign them; that it was indeed his duty to frame them, from the opinion of the council, and, ſo framed, to carry them to his Majeſty; who, if he approved them, ſigned them, and alſo counterſigned himſelf. That he ſaid this only to ſet the gentleman right, as to the mode of doing buſineſs; he acknowledged, that by carrying them to the King, he became the perſon reſponſible for them, as well as by delivering them.

Mr. *Townſhend* then roſe to make general remarks on the merit in the conduct of oppoſition on the preſent occaſion; and the queſtion paſſed without a diviſion.

March

March 3, 4, 5.

No debate.

March 6.

The day for opening the budget.

Lord *North* began with explaining the terms of the loan. He enumerated the ſeveral ſums that had already been voted this ſeſſion by Parliament, to which he added thoſe that would probably be ſtill voted to complete the ſupplies of the current year. The monies already voted have been mentioned on the ſeveral days; we ſhall therefore mention only ſome of the moſt material articles that have not yet appeared, viz.

	l.	*s.*	*d.*
For maintenance of convicts employed on the Thames - - -	7846	0	0
Paid in penſions to perſons compelled to leave America - - -	57856	0	0
Deficiency on malt duty - -	158000	0	0
Ditto of grants for 1777 - -	38489	0	0
Intereſt on Exchequer bills - -	48440	0	0
There were other articles of leſs moment, which it is needleſs to enumerate; but the ſum total amounted to - -	13230318	2	10
Towards defraying this expence, he reckons the land and malt-tax 1,500,000l. Exchequer bills as uſual; and taking the ſinking-fund * by anticipation upon a 5th quarter, at 3,000,000l. with ſome inferior articles, amounting in the whole to - - -	7294786	0	6½
Balance -	5935562	2	3½
			So

* The ſinking-fund, from the 5th of April 1776 to the 5th of April 1777, produced as follows:

	£.
Firſt half-year, from April 5, 1776, to October 10, 1776 - - - - -	1907428
Second half-year, from October 10, 1776, to April 5, 1777 - - - - -	985512
Year's produce, from 5th April, 1776, to 5th April, 1777 - - -	2892940

The

So that he propoſed to borrow ſix millions upon the following terms: Each ſubſcriber of 100l. to be entitled to an annuity of 3l. per cent. which he valued at - - - -	66	10	0
A farther annuity of 2l. 10s. for 30 years; which, at 14 years purchaſe, was equal to - - - -	35	0	0
And a proportionate ſhare of 48,000 lottery tickets; that is, eight tickets for every 1000l. ſubſcribed; the probable profit on which would be 3l. each; which for every 100l. was -	2	8	0
Total -	103	18	0

He

The ſinking-fund produced, from the 5th of April 1777 to the 5th of April 1778,

Firſt half-year, from April 5, 1777, to October 10, 1777 - - - - -	1700811
Second half-year, from October 10, 1777, to April 5, 1778 - - - - -	944115
Year's produce, from 5th April, 1777, to 5th April 1778 - - - -	2644926
Produce of the year, from April 5, 1776, to April 5, 1777 - - - - - -	2892940
Produce of the year, from April 5, 1777, to April 5, 1778 - - - - - -	2644926
The produce of the year, ending April 5, 1777, exceeds the produce of the year ending April 5, 1778	248014
But it muſt be obſerved, that in the year ending 5th April 1778, there was paid 100,000l. more to the civil liſt than in the year ending 5th April 1777; and, moreover, that half a year of the intereſt of the money borrowed on the tax on ſervants was paid in the year ending 5th April 1778, though no part of that tax was yet levied; theſe together make an additional produce, in favour of the year ending 5th of April 1778, of - - - -	150000
The nett balance of produce in favour of the year ending 5th of April 1777 is therefore only -	98014

Though

He obſerved, that much art had been uſed, both at home and abroad, by the enemies of this country (declaring at the ſame time that he had no particular perſons in view) to depreſs the credit of the nation, and even to prevent the loan from being obtained altogether; for this reaſon he wiſhed the advantage to the ſubſcribers might be conſiderable; for that it was better to grant ample terms than to riſk a bargain that might ultimately tend to our diſcredit. He therefore thought it both juſt and wiſe to give the ſubſcribers ſuch a bargain as might turn out a profitable one. That he had held out no falſe colours to the lenders, nor let one ſyllable eſcape him in regard to the probability of a war with France, the apprehenſion of which had lately ſo deeply affected the public funds that they might not have it in their power to reproach him with events that might happen; that they therefore knowingly run the riſk of that contingency; that he rather choſe to borrow upon worſe terms, than to hold forth flattering hopes of any kind whatever; that ſeveral reaſons might be aſſigned for the preſent ſcarcity of money beſides the rumour of an approaching war; ſuch as the extravagant ſpeculations many of our merchants had

---

Though the above figures (it is believed) are accurate, or to a trifle ſo, yet it is very certain, from authentic and incontrovertible documents, that the nett receipt of the cuſtoms for the year 1776 decreaſed from the nett receipt for the year 1775 in the amazing ſum of 1,075,960l. No exceſs in the exciſe, through the profuſions of the war, or in any other branches of the revenue, could compenſate, or nearly compenſate, this diminution. It is therefore to be preſumed, that this period is not even yet brought forward into the public accounts; and that the produce is lying ſomewhere, unaccounted for by the collectors or receivers. By indulgences of this kind, ſhewn to thoſe entruſted with public money, theſe offices, with apparently trifling ſalaries, become the moſt beneficial the Treaſury have to beſtow; and obſcure people, much to the diſgrace of the finance-adminiſtration, and to the prejudice of the public, (who are always in advance, and pay dearly for every ſhilling they are in advance,) acquire, ſoon and undeſervedly, princely fortunes in them, free even from the envy and the anxious uncertainties that ever attend on the offices of the more conſpicuous miniſters of ſtate.

lately

that one ground of judging of this, which prevailed in all nations, was by the expence at which they lived; and this, though it might not anſwer in every ſingle inſtance, was yet a very good general rule; that laying the tax upon the conſumption of commodities was both equal and palatable, as the reſentment of the perſon taxed fell on the dealer, and not on the officer of the revenue; that the taxes on coaches, on ſervants, and on houſes, were proper and eligible, as they were viſible ſigns of ability to pay them; that a tax on bricks and tiles had formerly been thought of and rejected; as likewiſe taxing houſes by the extent of their fronts, or by the number of their chimnies, which was the ſame as hearth-money, neither of which afforded a juſt eſtimate of the value of the houſe. He propoſed therefore to exempt all houſes under the rent of 5*l.* *per annum* from all taxation; that all houſes from 5*l.* to 50*l.* ſhould be rated at 6*d.* in the pound, and from 50*l.* and upwards at 1*s.* to be paid by the occupier; that this tax might be levied by thoſe who collected the window-tax, with a little additional aſſiſtance for a year or two, till the rates were fully adjuſted. He then proceeded, by the aſſiſtance of the window-tax, to form a computation what the preſent tax would raiſe; which he reckoned as follows:

	£.
In England and Wales, - - -	259000
In Scotland, - - - - - - - -	5000
In all	264000

He then propoſed an additional tax on all wines imported, viz. eight guineas per tun, or 2*d.* a bottle, on all French wines; and four guineas per tun, or 1*d.* a bottle, on all other wine; which his Lordſhip computed would amount to 72,558*l.* in the whole 336,558*l.* viz. 6,558*l.* above the ſum wanted.

The following is his Lordſhip's calculation of the produce of the above taxes.

House Tax.

	£.
24,000 houſes in London, Weſtminſter, and Middleſex, between 50*l.* and 5*l.* a year, - - - - -	14750
30,900 ditto, above 50*l.* *per ann.* - - - - - -	193500
190,000 houſes in England and Wales, comprized at 15*l.* on an average, - - - - - - - - - -	71250
17,000 houſes in Scotland, - - - - - - - - -	5000
Carried over,	*284000

* His Lordſhip ſaid he ſhould only ſtate this at 284,000*l.*

Brought over,	£. 284000
Additional Wine Tax.	
On claret and port, - - - - - - - - - - -	72588
	356088
Required by ways and means, - - - - - - -	350000
Surplus,	6088

His Lordſhip concluded with obſerving, that it was no very agreeable employment to propoſe taxes of any kind; that it was a meaſure neceſſary in point of honour, not a point of pleaſure; but that he thought it more honourable not to decline any duty of his office whilſt he held it, however diſagreeable.

Some debate enſued. The gentlemen in oppoſition ſaw it in a very contrary light, and conſidered it as highly oppreſſive and diſproportionate. It was not, they ſaid, from the rent of an houſe altogether, that we can judge of the circumſtances of the tenant; ſince we ſee that tradeſmen of every denomination are obliged, through neceſſity, to poſſeſs houſes commodiouſly ſituated, however highly rented, and to whom an additional out-going of a ſhilling in the pound will be of material injury. In ſeveral pariſhes of London and Weſtminſter, the houſes are burthened by the land-tax, poor-rates, window-tax, pavement, lights, watch, &c. &c. to the amount of eight ſhillings in the pound, and upwards; and it ſo happens, that the parties moſt heavily burthened are the leaſt able to bear it.

The wine tax was oppoſed only with regard to the Oporto, as it affected the commercial alliance ſubſiſting between Portugal and us, and might produce a tax there on the importation of Britiſh manufactures. About half after ſeven, however, the motion for leave to bring in the bills paſſed without a diviſion. This being diſpoſed of,

Mr. *Gilbert* then made his promiſed motion, which was, "That the better to enable his Majeſty to vindicate the honour and dignity of his crown, and the dominions thereunto belonging, in the preſent exigency of affairs, there be granted to his Majeſty one-fourth part of the nett annual income upon the ſalaries, fees, and perquiſites of all offices under the crown (except thoſe held by the Speaker of the Houſe of Commons, the Chancellor or Commiſſioners of the Great Seal,

Seal, the Judges, Miniſters to foreign parts, Commiſſioners, Officers in the army and navy, and all others that do not produce a clear income of 200*l.* *per annum* to the perſon or perſons enjoying the ſame); and alſo of all annuities, penſions, ſtipends, or other yearly penſions iſſuing out of the Exchequer, or any branch of his Majeſty's revenues, after deducting all fees and taxes thereon by authority of Parliament; to commence from 25th March 1778, and to continue for one year, *and during the continuance of the American war**."

The committee divided upon this motion, when 100 were for it, and 82 againſt it.

March 10.

The reſolutions of yeſterday were reported, and all agreed to, except Mr. Gilbert's motion, upon which the Houſe divided, 141 for it, and 147 againſt it.

March 11.

Mr. *Sawbridge* made his annual motion for ſhortening the duration of Parliaments. The queſtion was called for, and the Houſe divided; for the queſtion 33, againſt it 83.

The Houſe reſolved itſelf into a committee on the ſtate of the nation.

The ſubject this day was the ſtate of the navy.

The following is the ſubſtance of the moſt material papers which were referred to the conſideration of the committee:

State and condition of his Majeſty's ſhips and veſſels of war in Great Britain and Ireland, and on channel ſervice, November 27th, 1777, according to the ſeveral weekly accounts delivered in to the Houſe of Commons by the Admiralty-office; being 205 ſail, whoſe proper war-complement amounts to 34,996 ſeamen and marines.

Ships' names.	Complement.	Seamen muſtered.	Marines muſt.
Sandwich,	750	635	60
Princeſs Royal,	750	428	44
Monarch,	650	461	48
Prince George,	750	518	48
Princeſs Amelia,	700	279	43
Valiant,	700	509	44
Mars,	600	515	48

* Theſe laſt words in Italics were added by way of amendment.

Ardent,

Ships' names.	Complement.	Seamen muſtered.	Marines muſt.
Ardent,	500	433	43
Hector,	650	476	47
Boſton,	220	193	35
Courageux,	650	461	48
Centaur,	650	475	47
Grafton,	650	138	17
Trident,	500	288	44
Europe,	500	158	47
Terrible,	650	403	46
Worceſter,	500	310	48
Active,	220	189	40
Camel,	200	110	23
Panther,	420	198	18
Druid,	120	77	12
Ruſſel,	650	156	16
Sultan,	650	186	24
Squirrel,	160	117	0
Hazard,	120	71	0
Oſtrich,	120	71	0
Leviathan,	120	100	15
Conqueſtador,	400	278	48
Stirling Caſtle,	500	413	25
Prince of Wales,	650	546	106
Albion,	650	516	76
Bedford,	650	552	127
Bienfaiſant,	500	415	34
Aſia,	500	465	85
Conqueror,	650	495	42
Shrewſbury,	650	48	0
Fame,	650	222	16
Ocean,	750	553	49
Blenheim,	750	325	39
Boyne,	600	444	45
Foudroyant,	700	559	45
Belleiſle,	500	435	43
Burford,	500	423	43
Queen,	750	438	43
Thetis,	220	194	36
Boreas,	200	156	0
Weazle,	150	120	23
Wolf,	80	59	9
Sherborne,	60	30	0
Ferret,	80	28	0

Grey-hound

Ships' names.	Complement.	Seamen muſtered.	Marines muſt.
Greyhound cutter,	60	28	0
Hawke ſloop,	100	94	14
Lurcher cutter,	50	28	0
Folkſtone cutter,	50	29	0
Alert ſloop,	100	65	0
Eſther cutter,	50	25	0
Wells cutter,	50	24	0
Andromeda,	200	0	0
Dorſet yacht,	50	about 30	0
Alarm } cutters,	30 }	No returns.	
Meredith }	30 }		
Cornwall,	650	540	42
Ranger,	80	54	0
Sprightly,	80	49	0
Speedwell ſloop,	80	57	0
Arethuſa,	220	197	34
Alderney ſloop,	100	97	0
Waſp ſloop,	80	64	0
Cupid ſloop,	110	104	0
Harpy ſloop,	120	119	0
Rattleſnake cutter,	80	65	0
Ruby,	500	69	0
Pelican,	160	143	34
Minerva,	220	178	40
Invincible,	650	460	40
Exeter,	500	437	43
Egmont,	650	475	47
Huſſar,	200	185	38
Torbay,	650	449	100
Ramillies,	650	471	49
* Reſolution,	650	445	28
* Culloden,	650	493	31
* Royal Oak,	650	498	46
Proſerpine,	200	192	38
Drake,	100	91	0
Orford, hoſpital ſhip,	80	52	14
Nabob,	160	32	0
Greenwich,	160	20	0

* Theſe three ſhips (after the returns) were completed to 550 men each; as per letter 8th November, 1777, from the commander in chief at Portſmouth.

Ships' names.	Complement.	Seamen muſtered.	Marines muſt.
Pacific,	160	30	6
Lioneſs,	160	27	6
Supply,	160	8	0
Dromedary,	160	2	0
Hired armed ſhips. Counteſs of Scarborough, Heart of Oak, Three Siſters, Leith, Content, Merchant, Three Brothers, Satisfaction,		Theſe lately commiſſioned; their complement will be 120 men each.	
Royal Charlotte yacht,	70	69	
Catherine ditto,	40	30	
Fubbs ditto,	40	30	
William and Mary ditto,	40	30	
Nightingale,	16	Employed to receive new-raiſed men.	
Total,	34996	22154	2447

Of the number of ſeamen muſtered in Great Britain, Ireland, and channel-ſervice, according to the office-papers, 940 appear to be over-ſtated, if the marines are allowed in addition to be 2447.

Supernumeraries belonging to other ſhips, not included in the above muſters, 1248.

Weekly accounts of his Majeſty's ſhips and veſſels employed in North America, according to the laſt returns from Lord Howe; prepared in purſuance of a precept of the Houſe of Commons, dated 27th January, 1778.

Ships' names.	Complement.	Seamen muſtered.	Marines muſt.
Carysfort,	200	136	32
Perſeus,	160	112	23
Lizard,	200	138	39
Galatea,	160	124	34
Daphne,	160	117	24
Hinchinbroke,	74	50	14
Lively,	160	125	26
Nautilus,	125	99	19
Phœnix,	280	193	45
Emerald,	220	175	35

Otter,

Ships' names.	Complement.	Seamen muſtered.	Marines muſt.
Otter,	125	96	13
Senegal,	125	87	23
Richmond,	220	169	39
Thames,	220	163	22
Raiſonnable,	500	357	80
Solebay,	200	130	30
Sphynx,	160	111	32
Diſpatch,	125	85	21
Swift,	125	80	26
Zebra,	125	88	27
Vigilant,	150	92	24
Apollo,	220	213	0
Eagle,	522	396	83
Noneſuch,	500	369	78
Somerſet,	520	388	82
Iſis,	350	277	62
Roebuck,	280	220	29
Liverpool,	220	150	35
Camilla,	160	109	29
Pearl,	220	165	35
York,	65	39	14
Strombolo,	45	45	0
Garland,	160	80	30
Triton,	200	74	33
Viper,	110	58	0
Magdalen,	30	24	0
Rainbow,	280	166	47
Mermaid,	200	158	36
Blonde,	220	161	37
Vulture,	125	92	27
Cabot,	60	26	9
Hunter,	110	84	23
Scarborough,	160	121	34
Albany,	125	56	18
Hope,	80	57	0
Syren,	220	141	29
Milford,	200	148	38
Amazon,	220	160	37
Renown,	350	263	49
Juno,	220	160	29
Orpheus,	220	150	32
Chatham,	367	289	47
King's-fiſher,	125	98	21

Ships' names.	Complement.	Seamen muſtered.	Marines muſt.
Alarm,	40	23	0
Cerberus,	200	147	29
Diamond,	220	164	44
Flora,	220	159	27
Lark,	220	155	34
Unicorn,	160	59	19
Greyhound,	200	164	30
Ambuſcade,	220	160	40
Centurion,	350	240	50
St. Albans,	500	354	67
Preſton,	367	304	56
Roſe,	160	92	32
Jerſey,	140	63	7
Thunder,	80	31	0
Carcaſs,	70	53	0
Elephant,	40	23	14
Dependence,	40	25	10
Experiment,	320	250	47
Briſtol,	350	278	68
Buffalo,	200	165	23
Brune,	220	168	28
Tartar,	200	162	32
Mercury,	160	110	33
Raven,	125	75	17
Swan,	125	87	10
Scorpion,	125	81	13
Falcon,	125	107	10
Halifax,	40	38	0
Haerlem,	65	0	0
82 ſail. Total,	15980	11400	2392
Supernumeraries belonging to other ſhips muſtered,			511

State and condition of his Majeſty's ſhips and veſſels of war on the Jamaica ſtation, on or before the 21ſt day of November, 1777; according to account delivered to the Houſe of Commons from the Admiralty-office, 16th February, 1778.

Ships' names.	Complement.	Seamen muſtered.	Marines muſt.
Antelope,	350	253	49
Winchelſea,	220	172	38
Southampton,	220	163	27

Eolus,

Ship's names.	Complement.	Seamen muſtered.	Marines muſt.
Eolus,	220	167	34
Pallas,	240	181	41
Loweſtoffe,	220	172	34
Glaſgow,	160	122	34
Atalanta,	100	77	18
Porpus,	125	about 100	20
Hornet,	125	91	21
Lynx,	125	85	28
Diligence,	110	102	4
Badger,	90	85	0
Porcupine,	80	75	0
Stork,	90	76	0
Race-horſe,	45	27	0
Weſt-Florida,	30	about 25	0
Bute,	160	128	26
* Niger,	200	171	44
Hind,	160	115	34
Hound,	125	95	27
Sylph,	110	88	22
Cameleon,	125	85	23
23 ſail. Total,	3330	2655	524

Total in the fleet of Great Brttain, for home defence, being 105 ſail, including royal yachts, &c. 24909
Lord Howe, 82 ſail, - - - 14303
In the Jamaica ſquadron, 23 ſail, - - - 3196

Set off death and deſertion againſt abſent with leave and ſick in hoſpitals, and the number muſtered about equals the number paid by the nation.

---

* Mr. T. Luttrell charged the Board for delivering a fallacious account to Parliament of the above ſquadron; as he himſelf he ſaid had ſeen the Niger frigate, and ſeveral more of theſe ſhips of war, in Great Britain on the 21ſt day of November, 1777.

An Account of the Number of Seamen and Marines employed in the Service of the Royal Navy, from the 1st March 1776, *to the 30th* September 1777, *upon a Medium of each; diſtinguiſhing the Seamen from the Marines, and what number of each are borne, and what muſtered in the Service*.*

Months.	Seamen.		Marines.	
	Borne.	Muſtered for victuals.	Borne.	Muſt. for vict.
March, 1776,	21436	21977	6146	3241
April,	22747	23265	6409	3400
May,	24202	24851	6576	3584
June,	24684	25843	6852	3793
July,	24953	25614	7076	3955
Auguſt,	25958	26452	7173	3963
September,	26039	27174	7058	4051
October,	27117	27672	7014	4418
November,	30411	31245	7219	4596
December,	33111	33227	7401	4567
January, 1777,	36289	36309	7412	4804
February,	37551	37303	7759	5134
March,	39509	39453	7864	5358
April,	40127	40270	8170	5523
May,	41316	41768	8572	5768
June,	42044	42284	8695	5846
July,	43855	43935	8931	6108
Auguſt,	44995	44611	9139	6252
September,	45569	45372	9432	6341
Total,	631913	638625	144898	90402
Upon a medium,	33258	33611	7626	4758

M. SUCKLING. J. WILLIAMS. GEO. MARSH.
T. BRETT. R. TEMPLE.

---

* This is the account which Mr. Temple Luttrell reprobated, in the committee of the Houſe of Commons on navy affairs, as a groſs impoſition on Parliament and the nation; which he ſaid was proved manifeſtly by the official returns of the fleet at home, of Lord Howe's fleet in America, the fleet in Jamaica, &c. which returns he had called for, and were then on the table of the Houſe of Commons.

September, 1777, } 55000 Borne.
By the above account, } 51713 Victualled.

Abſtract

...Navy since the Year 1770.

No.		1771			1772			1773			1774			1775			1776		
		l.	*s.*	*d.*	*l.*	*s.*	*d.*	*l.*	*s.*	*d.*	*l.*	*s.*	*d.*	*l.*	*s.*	*d.*	*l.*	*s.*	*d.*
1	To the Right Hon. the Lords Commissioners of the admiralty, Commissioners of the navy, with the secretaries, officers, clerks, instruments, and contingencies, relating thereto,	34038	4	1	34038	4	1	46212	8	1	46212	8	1	46212	8	1	46802	8	1
2	Superannuated sea officers, £. 17857 13 1																		
3	Pensions, and other allowances, 6375 3 3																		
		24232	16	4	26311	7	5	26351	5	9	26525	13	2	26616	5	2	27555	5	11
4	Yards. Chatham, 3295 1 6																		
5	Deptford, 3142 11 4																		
6	Woolwich, 2520 8 8																		
7	Portsmouth, 4054 14 6																		
8	Sheerness, 1813 4 6																		
9	Plymouth, 3245 9 6	18071	10	0	18071	10	0	18071	10	0	24538	2	0	24538	2	0	24598	2	0
10	Muster-masters, and other officers of the outports,	4307	16	11	5110	16	11	5410	16	11	5410	16	11	5410	16	11	6480	16	11
11	Wages to ships and vessels in ordinary,	40181	5	5	45147	18	7	48181	9	5	48271	1	10	50583	8	11	42529	6	0
12	Victuals to officers and men serving therein,	18280	8	4	19773	3	0	21115	5	0	21084	16	8	22298	9	2	18815	15	0
13	Charge of harbour moorings, and harbour rigging,	46566	0	0	53800	0	0	49070	0	0	46000	0	0	44850	0	0	40450	0	0
14	Ordinary repairs of his Majesty's ships in ordinary,	102843	0	0	100241	0	0	108875	0	0	111914	0	0	107440	0	0	*113442	0	0
15	Half-pay to sea and marine officers,	89000	0	0	91000	0	0	94000	0	0	107500	1	0	110000	0	0	99500	0	0
16	Bounty to chaplains,	1231	17	6	1241	11	6	1231	17	6	2231	17	6	1231	17	6	1231	17	6
17	Ordinary charge of sick and hurt seamen,	000	0	0	000	0	0	5499	8	1	5499	8	1	5499	8	1	5499	8	1
	To the Governor of Greenwich hospital, for the support of seamen worn out in service, who shall not be provided for within the said hospital,	10000	0	0	10000	0	0	10000	0	0	10000	0	0	10000	0	0	10000	0	0
	Total,	388752	18	7	404725	17	6	434019	0	9	454188	4	3	454680	15	10	431904	19	6

Timber in the Navy.

In September, 1770, 15111 Loads. 14773 Due on contract.
In September, 1777, 62489 Loads. 32616 Due on contract.

* *Mr. Luttrell observed this was impossible.*

Mr. *Fox* moved, that the preſent ſtate of the royal navy for the defence of Great Britain and Ireland, is inadequate to the preſent very dangerous criſis of public affairs.

Mr. *Temple Luttrell* began with an apology for the length of time during which he muſt trouble the committee; * but preſumed he ſhould ſtand excuſed in the opinion of every unprejudiced perſon, when it was conſidered that the ſeveral official papers now in review, and which had occaſioned ſuch extreme trouble to the naval boards, had been (almoſt every one of them) ordered by the Houſe on his requiſition, after reiterated charges, during the current ſeſſion of Parliament, and two preceding ſeſſions, of venality, profuſion, and fraud in the preſent miniſters for the admiralty; and which charges he was now to maintain and make good, from official and uncontrovertible proof, as he had the proper parliamentary materials in his poſſeſſion. He had been greatly flattered, by finding that the ſenſe of the other Houſe of Parliament had gone along with him, in calling for copies of the ſame accounts, and periodical returns, to be laid before their Lordſhips; but he had reaſon to be ſtill further ſatisfied in the candour of his own heart, to find theſe very teſtimonials preciſely correſpond with the ſtate and condition of the royal fleet, as he had deſcribed it in the Houſe before Chriſtmas laſt. But though he was ſufficiently uſed to the confidence of the admiralty-gentlemen over the way, not to be much aſtoniſhed at their barefaced denial of the only regular and authentic vouchers for their conduct and expenditure, as had been forcibly demonſtrated by an honourable admiral in his eye [Admiral Keppel;] yet that the majority of the members of the Houſe of Commons ſhould be dupes of ſuch fallacy, or wilfully ſhut their eyes and their ears, and become accomplices in the guilt (ill as he had grounds to think of majorities in theſe days), yet he could ſcarce ſuſpect they would go ſo profligate a length, to abet any wicked miniſter whatever. The honourable gentleman who ſpoke laſt [Admiral Palliſer] had alleged that there were two diſtinct claſſes of 74-gun ſhips; that thoſe of the larger conſtruction, and heavier weight of cannon, have a fixed complement of 650 men, according to the laſt eſtabliſhment; and inſtanced the Valiant as of the latter claſs, which he boldly aſſerted to be manned with her complete war-complement. Now he defied

* He ſpoke upwards of two hours.

the

the honourable gentleman to point out, excepting the Valiant, one ſhip of 74 guns in the whole navy, which was allowed 650 men complement; and he would read the number actually borne and muſtered on board the ſaid ſhip from the laſt office accounts, and ſhew the accuracy of the honourable member's repreſentation. [Mr. Luttrell here read, from the weekly returns, the number actually borne, muſtered, and victualled; and the former amounted to 539 only, and the latter to 509.] It appears, by the returns of the royal navy, for the defence of Great Britain and Ireland, that at the end of laſt November there were, yachts, cutters, and armed merchantmen included, in all 105 ſail, among which we reckon 45 ſail of the line of battle, and of them 25 carry 74 guns; of which 25, not more than two or three muſter within 50 men of the reduced war-complement, nor within 100 of their proper war-complement; for I contend, that leſs than 650 will not be found ſufficient for ſhips of that claſs, according to the modern conſtruction and ſize of ordnance. The ſize of a 74 gun ſhip, on the improved ſcale, is from 200 to 400 tons more than at the commencement of the laſt war; and with the number I propoſe, the ſea officers oppoſite to me will underſtand, that in caſe of the neceſſity to quarter the crew at the ſtarboard and larboard tiers, both at one time, as may poſſible occur in paſſing land-batteries, or engaging amidſt an enemy's fleet, not more than ſeven private men can be allowed to a 32 pounder. Lord Anſon, in the laſt war, found 650 men abſolutely neceſſary for the complement of the 74 gun ſhips, that they might never go on action with fewer than 600; as a conſiderable deficiency muſt always be allowed for captains' ſervants, and the ſervants of other officers, widows-men, ſick on ſhore, or abſent on the duty of the ſhip in the room of preſſed men, &c. I have not ſelected the 74 gun ſhips as in a worſe ſtate than the reſt of the ſhips in commiſſion; though the 25 ſail have not within 3300 of their reduced complement, nor within 4500 of the proper complement for war. The ſecond and fourth rates are ſtill more defective, and the 64 gun ſhips in the ſame condition; and if it were not for an impoſing oſtentatious parade of pendants at Spithead, and the advantage of conferring a multitude of profeſſional favours, the noble Earl at the head of the admiralty would do well to turn over the ſeamen from one third of the men of war now in commiſſion, that the remainder might be of a proper force. The honourable member who

ſa

ſo ably opened this debate [Mr. Fox] has juſtly ſtated that the numbers borne aboard the 105 ſail before mentioned, for the protection of theſe iſlands, did not, in the month of November laſt, exceed 25,550; in America 15,365, being 82 ſail; in Jamaica 3168, being 23 ſail; and on all other ſtations and ſervices collectively, that is, the Leeward-iſlands, Newfoundland, Eaſt-Indies, Mediterranean, together with two ſhips on diſcoveries (and a very few of an inferior deſcription, not included in any return on your table) amounting to two men of war of 60 guns, three of 50, eleven frigates, and fourteen or fifteen ſloops or armed veſſels; if every one of them had a full war complement on board, they could not reckon 4500 men, making a total of ſeamen borne in the royal navy of Great Britain, in the month of November 1777, to fall ſhort of 48,583, including marines aboard, and ſerving aſhore, ſupernumeraries, and every perſon whatſoever nominally in the pay of this country. It is evident, from the ſame circumſtantial and accurate returns, that the whole of the victualled in the royal navy, throughout the univerſe, including ſupernumeraries and marines, could not exceed 47,407. Yet, by an official paper, ordered by this Houſe, and delivered in before the laſt receſs, the numbers borne in September laſt, previouſly to the very large additional ſupply of hands, from ſtripping your autumnal fleets of merchant ſhips, are made to come up to 55,000, and the victualled to 51,715; which muſt be a moſt daring and atrocious impoſition upon Parliament and the public. However, Sir, I admit that ſuch impoſition is not without a precedent; for we are uſed to deceit of this nature of late years, on a like annual motion, which has been cuſtomary ever ſince the year 1750, when it was firſt approved of and admitted, to ſhew us, as was then expreſſed, the ſavings or exceedings on the allowance of 4*l.* per month each man, voted for the ſervice of the year; a ſtriking example of a ſimilar piece of iniquity, and from the ſame delinquents, may be ſeen on your journals in the ſpring of the year 1772, when an account was given to Parliament of the number of ſeamen and marines actually borne aboard the royal navy during the preceding year, at a medium of the ſeveral months, and ſpecified to be under 32,000; yet, within a few pages of that very account on your journals, you meet with a charge on the nation of near 2,000,000*l.* ſterling; being, if you allow for deaths and deſertions, the full pay of 40,000 men, at 4*l.* per month each man; conſequently, there

there is a complete embezzlement of above 480,000*l.* The truth, Sir, is, that, in the year 1771, at a medium of the months, the number of ſeamen and marines in the actual pay of the public, fell ſhort of 28,000 men; which proves that we were defrauded of more than 600,000*l.* in that year, upon this one article of expenditure, accounted for in the ſea department; an earneſt of the preſent Firſt Lord's integrity at his entrance into the naval direction. In November laſt, the numbers actually muſtered upon all the returns throughout the globe, and which conſtitute the real force of your navy, were fewer than 44,500; and if you ſet off deſertion, &c. againſt thoſe who may be ſick in hoſpitals, or abſent with permiſſion, or on the ſervice of the ſhip, you will find the 4*l.* per month each man, allowed by the nation, to be applicable to but few more than the numbers actually on the muſter-roll.

Let us now take under conſideration the monies of late years granted by Parliament, upon the ordinary and extraordinary eſtimates of the navy, delivered in by the Navy-Office to the Board of Admiralty, and by them adopted and preſented in detail, in compliance of an order of this Houſe; with the ſeveral articles requiſite to be provided for ſpecifically repreſented therein. During the eight years of laſt war, that is, from the commencement of the naval operations, early in 1755, to the year 1762, incluſive, the ordinary of the navy amounted in the total to 1,890,000*l.* and the extraordinaries to 1,500,000*l.* being on both eſtimates 3,390,000*l.* (independent of navy ordnance); and of this ſum, the charge of building, rebuilding, and repairs, together with the preſerving the men of war in ordinary, with extra ſtores, came to about 1,760,000*l.* Let us now take the eight years immediately following the peace; when (as was juſtly remarked by an honourable member [Right Hon. Welbore Ellis, Treaſurer of the Navy] in a high naval appointment) the fleet might neceſſarily, from the waſte and deſtruction of your very extenſive naval operations during the war, become in the utmoſt want of being improved and re-eſtabliſhed. Sir, in thoſe eight years (from 1763 to 1770, incluſive) the ordinary eſtimate was 3,222,167*l.* and the extraordinary 1,916,498*l.* making together 5,138,665*l.* (over and above naval ordnance); and of which ſum, the building, rebuilding, and repairing, and the preſerving your ſhips out of commiſſion, and extra ſtores, came to near 2,350,000*l.* In the laſt eight years (compre-

(comprehending the grants of Parliament for 1778) which takes in the whole of the Earl of Sandwich's maritime adminiſtration, the ordinary of the navy has amounted to 3,232,693*l.* and the extraordinary to 3,239,379*l.* being in the whole 6,472,072*l.* of which, building, rebuilding, and repairs, preſerving ſhips out of commiſſion, and extra ſtores, come to about 3,500,000*l.* excluſive of ordnance, and excluſive of ſundry large ſums, charged in the account of the annual navy-debt for foreign timber, freights, various naval ſtores, and excluſive of the conſiderable coſt to the nation, for repleniſhing the ſtores, &c. conſumed by fire in the dock-yard of Portſmouth. So that the expence to the public, on the ordinary and extraordinary eſtimates of the navy, has, within the eight years of Lord Sandwich's wiſe and honeſt management of the marine-boards, more than doubled the eight years of the laſt moſt glorious war; againſt the charges of which war to the Britiſh empire, ſo much has been repeatedly urged by the enemies to that illuſtrious ſtateſman, and ſucceſsful miniſter, Lord Chatham.

Of theſe ſums granted by Parliament ſince January 1771, it appears evidently from the official papers now on your table, that 2,560,000*l.* allowed for the building, repairing, and ſtoring particular ſhips of war, named and reported by the navy-board, and expedient to have been repaired, and ſometimes ſaid to be actually taken in hand, has not been applied to the uſes approved of by this Houſe, and for which uſes alone it could be underſtood to be voted. "But (ſay the gentlemen on the oppoſite benches) if the money was not applied to the ſpecific articles for which it was aſked and granted, ſtill it has been duly laid out for other national purpoſes." Why then has Parliament been denied the proper vouchers for the real expenditure of ſo enormous a ſum? Why, Sir, when I took the liberty, a few days ſince, to move for an account of the application of that ſum, ſo unwarrantably diverted into other channels, was I defeated in my purpoſe, by that uſual cloak to the peculation and infamy of miniſters, the Previous Queſtion?

If gentlemen will pleaſe to take the trouble of examining the nature and origin of theſe extraordinary eſtimates of the navy, they muſt be convinced that it has always been the intention of the Commons, and the indiſpenſable obligation of government, to have the money given thereon expended towards the object for which miniſters ſpecifically required it. Annual allowances of this kind have been continued regularly for about twenty-eight years laſt paſt. Previouſly to the year 1750;

1750, an article in the groſs was uſually inſerted in the ſtate of the navy-debt, for building, rebuilding, repairing ſhips and docks, &c. when the jealous and vigilant eye of Parliament obſerving thoſe demands unreaſonably to accumulate, required that a cloſe and ſatisfactory detail ſhould be thenceforward produced of the ſeveral men of war neceſſary to be undertaken, and the work really meant to be done. Therefore an addreſs was preſented to the King (which ſtands on the journals of this Houſe) for the proper officers to bring in an account of what might be requiſite on theſe heads of building, repairs, &c. for the current year. The charges to this country on the ſeveral articles muſt of courſe be ſtated on a conjectural and unpreciſe valuation; for, till the work be completed, it were impoſſible to aſcertain the exact expence of every ſhip built or repaired. But there is no power ever left by the legiſlature, nor intended to be left, for miniſters at their option to change the application of the public money, to other and very different ſervices, without expreſsly having recourſe again to the approbation and conſent of this Houſe. So unconſtitutional, ſo daring and dangerous a licence, ſetting both law and decency at defiance, and unknown to former governments, was reſerved for the preſent deſpotic rulers over an abuſed and a too patient people. Early in the laſt century, we find that the refitting of eight ſhips of war for the narrow ſeas coſt 5,761 *l.* 10 *s.* and to completely repair twelve men of war with hulls, maſts, and yards, came to but 8000 *l.* This appears by the extraordinary charge given into Parliament for the years 1625, 1626, and 1627, wherein the names of the ſeveral ſhips are ſpecified. The extraordinary of the navy, fifty years ago (or articles uſually compriſed under that denomination) were from 40,000 to 60,000 *l.* Till the beginning of the late war, the money annually expended for the extra ſervices of the fleet rarely exceeded 100,000 *l.* During the continuance of that war, it never went in any one year higher than 200,000 *l.* and peace being concluded in 1763, when Mr. George Grenville was Firſt Commiſſioner of the Board of Admiralty, it was again brought within the compaſs of 100,000 *l.*; after 1763, it from time to time very conſiderably increaſed; but during the preſent noble Earl's adminiſtration (even previouſly to the breaking out of the American civil war) it fell not much ſhort, *communibus annis*, of 400,000 *l.* and is now augmented to ſo extravagant a height as 488,695 *l.*

The charges in the ſtate of the navy debt, on the long liſt of ſundries heretofore accounted for under wear and tear, and properly

properly within the diſburſements of 4*l.* per month, are a heavy additional burthen on the ſubject, and render the profligate diſſipation of the public revenue ſtill more glaring and notorious. By an eſtimate delivered to Parliament of the probable expence of the naval department for 1772, it is computed that the wages of ſeamen and marines, taking officers into the reckoning, will demand, one with another, 1*l.* 10*s.* per month; victualling 19*s.* per month; there muſt conſequently remain 1*l.* 11*s.* per month for wear and tear, &c. which, on 40,000 men provided for laſt year, comes to 80,600*l.*; and on the 60,000 men for 1778 will not fall much ſhort of 1,209,000*l.*; which ought to ſupply hoſpitals, rigging, ſtores, and all other contingencies, for the naval ſervice, at the fulleſt demand, excepting ordnance, which is a diſtinct branch of buſineſs, and ſeparately provided for. The navy debt is ſo modelled and manufactured, that I cannot but conſider it as a mockery of all numerical inveſtigation; for, upon conſulting with very able accomptants, both commercial and profeſſional, they agree but in one point, which is, that miniſters have the particulars of the navy-debt thus contrived, for perplexity's ſake, only to envelope in utter darkneſs the true appropriation of the immenſe ſums they extort thereupon from the public. I ſhall juſt obſerve, in the groſs; that the navy debt, at this day, amounts to as much as at the cloſe of the laſt war, about three millions and a half. It increaſes two millions every year of the American war. When the noble Lord in the blue ribbon came to the head of the treaſury, January 1770, the whole arrear due was but 1,070,000*l.* But, Sir, having now ſhewn at what an enormous charge your navy has ſtood ſince 1771, when Lord Sandwich came to preſide at the admiralty, it will be proper that I proceed to conſider, whether your fleet has or has not been improved under his management. When a very amiable and renowned naval commander, now a member of the other Houſe of Parliament [Lord Hawke] came to the head of that department, 1766, he found ſixty-one ſhips of the line fit for ſervice, of which nineteen were in commiſſion, and forty-two in ordinary, and fourteen were upon the ſtocks: that noble Lord, during the four years of his naval adminiſtration, launched fourteen ſhips of the line of battle, repaired twenty-one, and left fifteen upon the ſtocks. Lord Sandwich, in ſeven years (from January 1771, to December 1777) has built and rebuilt twenty-one of the line, and repaired thirty-four. Fifteen are now building; but there are not near ſo many men of war in a condition to

ſtand

ſtand the ſeas, nor to perform ſervice, in caſe of a foreign war, as when Lord Hawke went out of office. The length of time that thoſe men of war have been in employ, which were conſidered by Lord Hawke to remain in a ſound ſtate, and the ſlender repairs they have ſince required, prove that the commiſſioners of the navy-board were not miſtaken in their various reports to the admiralty reſpecting ſuch ſhips; but that they were as ſerviceable and as perfect as Lord Hawke underſtood them to be. It has been more than once ſuggeſted in another place [Houſe of Lords] either through groſs error, or a more reprehenſible motive, that Lord Sandwich had broken up forty ſail of the line of battle ſince he came into power. Of the forty ſail of the line alluded to, twenty-eight were ſo far from being on Admiral Hawke's liſt of ſhips in good condition, that they were not even on Lord Egmont's liſt, whom Admiral Hawke ſucceeded. They had long been ſentenced to be either broken up, or cut down to a lower rate; ſeven out of the forty were French or Spaniſh prizes, taken in the laſt war, and in a very doubtful ſituation; eight of the forty were actually employed abroad or on home-duty when Lord Hawke reſigned, and the remaining ſhip, the Africa, was ſhamefully ſold for 800*l.* three years ago, though ſhe might for 5000*l.* have been made in the King's yard one of the beſt ſhips of 64 guns of the whole royal navy, and far preferable to many of her claſs, which have been repaired by the noble Earl, at the charge of above 20,000*l.* each.

The preſent board has poſſeſſed peculiar advantages, beyond all former ones, in carrying on that line of buſineſs which reſpects the building and repairing of capital ſhips of war. They have had the uſe of the large baſon at Portſmouth, and all the docks have been open; whereas that baſon, and the two largeſt docks, were ſhut nearly the whole of Lord Hawke's time. It were to be wiſhed that Lord Sandwich had followed the example of his predeceſſor, in repairing ſuch men of war only as would anſwer the labour and expence. We have now a nominal liſt of above one hundred ſail of the line of battle, of which fifty are in commiſſion (I ſpeak of the official accounts before the committee, made up to November laſt) *viz.* five in North America, one in the Mediterranean, one in the Eaſt Indies, and forty-three on the home ſtation. And what is the ſtate of theſe men of war? The preamble to the report from the admiralty relative to the ſtore of timber in hand and contracted for (which report is on your table) ſets forth, that his Ma-

jeſty's

jeſty's ſhips in general launched in the courſe of the laſt war, having been conſtructed with extraordinary diſpatch, and with green wood, a very rapid decay had been the conſequence; adding, that the ſhips built immediately following the war, were but little better than the others; and indeed this is demonſtrable from the repeated repairs thoſe ſhips have already had, that were launched from the ſtocks after the year 1763, and which, though ſome of them have never been ventured out to ſea, have been more than once repaired, at a very large expence. Now, Sir, of more than one hundred ſail of the line (including thoſe in ordinary, or diſapparelled) how many were built in the laſt war, and have therefore a poſitive ſentence of condemnation thus officially paſſed upon them? No leſs a number than one half. I have their names on an authentic paper in my hand; and of the remainder, ſeveral are reported, in your laſt extraordinary eſtimate, to want material repair. But it may be affirmed, that of thoſe ſhips conſtructed laſt war, a great many have undergone a thorough amendment, and are now in good order. Sir, I am ſorry to find, that ſo many as eighteen of the line have been worked upon and patched with the very worſt kind of wood that can be uſed for ſuch purpoſes, *viz.* oak timber from Stetin. The foreign wood in general imported into your dock-yards (as well that of Roſtock, and the ſeveral other ports of the Baltic, as from Bremen on the river Weſel) is of a bad quality, and has but little ſpine or roſin. The worſt timber of all is that from Stetin; as it has every bad quality attending the reſt, and is beſides ſingularly ſpungy and porous; and though it has been often remonſtrated againſt in the ſtrongeſt terms, by ſome of the moſt experienced and honeſt ſhip-builders in the royal yards, yet it is ſtill a favourite wood with the reigning admiralty board; and the contractors for ſupplying it are much cheriſhed, to the ruin of your fleet, and endangering the health of your ſeamen, who are frequently ſet afloat in their hammocks, from the water ſoaking in, over-head, through the planks. The Mars was repaired with this timber only two years and a half ago, and the nation was charged for that repair above 26,000*l.* ſterling; as much as ſhe would have coſt building new from the ſtocks. It is, I believe, in the recollection of ſome gentlemen now in the committee, with how poſitive a contradiction, and how indecent an aſſurance, I was treated, by ſome perſons on the admiralty-bench, previouſly to the Chriſtmas receſs, when I faithfully repreſented the ſad plight that this

this very ſhip was in at that time. The Houſe was made to believe ſhe was in perfectly good order, and that I was endeavouring to impoſe upon Parliament. Sir, the Mars is found to be totally unfit for future ſervice; and therefore entirely ſtruck off from the liſt of your fleet. The Yarmouth and the Prince of Wales were alſo lately repaired with Stetin timber, ſo were many others of good exterior appearance, but which can ſcarce be ſaid to ride at anchor in ſafety. An honourable friend of mine near me is, I find, lately appointed to a 74 gun ſhip repaired with Stetin timber [Captain Walſingham of the Thunderer] and built in the late war; I heartily wiſh him ſucceſs with his command; but would not have him truſt entirely to a report from thoſe who commiſſioned her, of her fitneſs for the ſeas. On the account before us of the Jamaica ſquadron, he will meet with the Bute, reported by the admiral there to be fit for ſea in November laſt; and within a month after, ſhe was found in ſo rotten a ſtate on her paſſage home, that it was impoſſible, even with fair weather, to keep her above the waves: ſo ſhe was ſcuttled and ſunk: which, when the workmen of the commanding-officer's ſhip (of the convoy) carried their tools aboard to effect, one of the tars ſaved them the trouble, by clenching his fiſt, and driving it, without much pain to his knuckles, clear through her hull. This Bute was, it ſeems, an old Eaſt-India trader, totally unfit for the Company's ſervice; but held at the admiralty-board ſufficiently ſtout and healthy for a public ſhip of war; and therefore contracted for at a high price. There is, I believe, another ſhip of a ſimilar ſtamp, called the Andromeda, now going upon government employ; and I ſhould be ſorry to inſure her exiſtence for a twelvemonth, at fifty per cent. Sir, there has been a moſt criminal neglect in the navy department, relative to the ſeaſoning and preſerving ſhip-timber. I can prove, that a very excellent plan for this object of the firſt national importance, preſented by a gentleman of very high deſcription for his experience and induſtry, has not even been favoured with a peruſal; while ineffectual and futile projects, which require no time for conſideration, are, through lazineſs or partiality, very readily received and adopted. The real fact is, that in this climate your timber fit for ſhip-building, let it lay in ſtore ever ſo long, and though in the moſt perfect natural ſtate, cannot be depended on for durability, without expedients of art. We have loſt or neglected the beſt method of ſeaſoning timbers, ſo as to render them durable in the frames of ſhips. Our capital ſhips of war heretofore

laſted near half a century. The Royal William, a firſt-rate, cut down to an 84, was, a few years ago, the favourite ſhip on ſervice of the whole navy of Great Britain, either for working on the ſeas, or to encounter an enemy; ſhe was built in 1719: and I could name many others, within my obſervation, whoſe frames remained ſound and fit for ſervice thirty-five or forty years, though in continual employ. Neither are the ſhips of war belonging to other maritime nations ſo bad, in theſe times, as thoſe of the Britiſh navy. The Spaniſh two-deckers, of 80 and 74 guns, are the ſtrongeſt and moſt durable in the world; not only thoſe built in the iſland of Cuba, of cedar-wood and mahogany, but even ſuch as have been conſtructed in the European ports of Spain, by Engliſh builders, and upon the ſame models with our own. We have few men of war on our liſt that have proved ſo laſting as the Centaur, Bienfaiſant, and the ſhips of war in general that were taken from the French twenty years ago; they have ſtood us but in little for repairs, compared with others of the ſame claſs built in England; particularly, if we take into conſideration, that they have been conſtantly kept in commiſſion. The number and ſtate of Lord Howe's fleet in America has been greatly miſunderſtood by the Houſe; of the eighty-two ſail under his command in November laſt, two are hoſpital ſhips, upwards of thirty are ſloops of war, armed-merchantmen, and ſmall-craft, and eleven of the reſt carry but 20 guns. His frigates have many of them not been cleaned theſe three years, and one-third of the whole number were cleaned juſt two years ago; nine or ten are declared to be rotten or leaky; and almoſt every ſhip or veſſel is reported, by his Lordſhip's return, to want a ſupply of gunner's ſtores. In Great Britain, and for home-ſervice, you have no more than eleven frigates in commiſſion, and not ſix in tolerable condition, that remain to be equipped on an emergency. Thoſe infirm and diſcarded merchant-veſſels, armed for war, and which ſwell the numbers of the royal fleet to ſo high an amount, ſuch veſſels as the Two Brothers, Two Siſters, &c. would be of little ſervice againſt French or Spaniſh cruiſers; they are preciſely the ſhips of the very worſt deſcription; bulky and unmanageable, nor able to engage nor avoid an enemy; and no ſea-officer of character and experience would willingly hazard his character in the beſt of them.

Let us now conſider the ſuppoſed danger of an invaſion from France, and the comparative force at ſea of both nations, and how far we may be better or worſe prepared to repel

repel an attack, than on former emergencies. At the commencement of naval hoſtilities in 1755, we ſeized, before a declaration of war, their very beſt ſailors, to the amount of ſome thouſands. At the beginning of the next year, on the eve of declaring war, we had near ſeventy ſail of the line of battle fit for ſervice, of which fifty-five were actually in commiſſion, from 60 guns upwards; and they muſtered 25,000 men. The frigates were then three times the number of our preſent ſtrength, beſides 38 ſhips of 50 guns: and we were ſo apprehenſive of an invaſion, and ſo dreaded its conſequences, that an embargo was laid on the outward-bound trade, and a proclamation iſſued, requiring the inhabitants all along the Britiſh coaſts, on the firſt appearance or alarm of an hoſtile fleet, to drive their cattle to the diſtance of at leaſt twenty miles from the ſhore; yet we had a land-army, for our internal ſafe-guard, of near 30,000 effective national troops, beſides 24,000 Hanoverian and Heſſian auxiliaries; and our reſources for men (now ſo exhauſted from emigrations for adventure, or by this fatal American conteſt) were entire, and abundant. The French navy, at that period, amounted to ſixty-eight men of war of the line of battle, of which forty-ſix were in commiſſion, carrying 32,000 men. Early in 1759 we were again terrified with threats of an invaſion from the coaſt of Brittany, though we had then the moſt formidable fleet of men of war, that any country had been able to fit out ſince the creation of the globe. Our line of battle ſhips in commiſſion amounted to ninety-five, with above 50,000 ſeamen and marines aboard; and we had more than one hundred frigates, or ſhips of 20 guns and upwards, completely manned. The fleets of France, before the engagement of the Toulon ſquadron off Cape Lagos, under M. De la Clue, againſt Admiral Boſcawen, conſiſted of ſixty-ſix ſail of the line, actually on ſervice, manned with 46,500 ſeamen and ſoldiers; their frigates, comparatively with ours, were of very inconſiderable force. Yet, gentlemen, recollect, that even after the deciſive defeat of the French ſquadrons in all parts of the world, during that campaign; Sir Edward Hawke's defeat of M. Conflans, and Sir George Pocock's ſucceſs againſt M. D'Ache in the Eaſt-Indies, by which victories the naval power of France was almoſt annihilated; even at that time did a pitiful armament of three ſmall veſſels, under the command of a corſair, and with a handful of troops aboard, land, without reſiſtance, in Ire-

land, ſpreading a ſerious panic throughout that country, and occaſioning the greateſt uneaſineſs and confuſion here.—France has at this criſis fifty-ſeven ſhips of the line, of which forty, from 60 guns to 116, may be ready for ſea, and completely manned with able mariners, by means of their regiſter, in three weeks. Spain has a liſt of ſixty-one of the line in Europe, and four more nearly built in the port of the Havannah. They have thirty-five men of war, of very capital force, that can (I am confidently aſſured) go upon ſervice immediately. I have already ſhewn to the committee the infirmity of our ſhips of war, neither have we any extenſive means, at this conjuncture, of completing their eſtabliſhment; I admit that a certain number of ſea-faring perſons now ſkulk within land, who might perhaps come forth, in caſe of a rupture with the Houſes of Bourbon, though they keep aloof from the preſent unnatural quarrel; but theſe recruits could not exceed a very few thouſands. You have lately drained the nation of that part of its inhabitancy to which you might have had an occaſional recourſe for this end. Your ſupplies are exceedingly reduced; and we have voted for the current year more ſeamen than this country has ever yet been able to furniſh for war, independent of her American colonies. You have voted above 48,200, beſides marines. The moſt we could ever get, excluſive of marine ſoldiers, in the laſt war, or in any former wars, was 52,000; and of theſe full 10,000 were natives of the continent of North America. Beſides, till the year 1760, your number of European ſeamen were but 30,000; though, after the unexampled and heroic triumph of the Britiſh flag over every part of the ocean, foreigners from almoſt every power in Chriſtendom were inclined to enter into our pay; and actually did ſo, in conſiderable numbers, from Portugal, from the northern nations, and the ſeveral little maritime ſtates of Italy. At preſent there is neither the ſame credit ſtamped on your arms to induce ſuch exotic ſupplies, nor have they equal lure of proſperous and profitable cruiſes. Let thoſe gentlemen who hug themſelves with a comfortable perſuaſion of our entire ſecurity from invaders, becauſe of our inſular ſituation, and vigilance or ſuperior dexterity of our fleet, recollect how many invaſions of theſe iſlands ſtand recorded in hiſtory. There have been, ſince the Norman conqueſt, twenty-four invaſions of Great Britain or Ireland, nine of which have been made good, without any moleſtation on the ſeas, and

ſeven

ſeven have proved ſucceſsful. Between 1685 and 1689, four invaſions were effectuated. In May, 1685, the Duke of Monmouth ſailed from the Texel with three ſhips, and landed without reſiſtance, after beating about in bad weather nineteen days in the Engliſh Channel, which then ſwarmed with cruiſers, diſpatched to intercept his paſſage. In 1688, the Dutch fleet, with the Prince of Orange aboard, afterwards King William the Third, and which conſiſted of fifty-four men of war (beſides tranſports and other veſſels, about five hundred) ſailed from Helvoet, and ſtretched for the channel. Lord Dartmouth at that time lay with the Engliſh ſquadron, of ſixty-one ſhips of the line, at anchor in the Downs; the weather became thick and hazy, as is uſual, with the wind to the ſouthward of the eaſt. The Dutch men of war were full ſeven hours before they could all ſtretch to the weſtward of the Engliſh, and extended ſeveral miles in length; yet the Prince contrived to reach Torbay, and land his whole army unoppoſed; though Lord Dartmouth got under way with the utmoſt expedition poſſible, and crowded ſail to encounter the enemy. I am aware that ſome writers of that time have hinted ſtrong ſuſpicions againſt the loyalty and zeal of the Britiſh commanders; but the fact is, they uſed their beſt endeavours, and once got within ſight of the Dutch rear; but the wind ſhifting ſuddenly to the weſtward, and coming on to blow freſh, juſt as the Dutch men of war had reached Torbay, (or as ſome authors alledged, overſhot their deſtination in the night,) they were enabled to fetch the landing-place, while the ſhips in chace were forced, by the ſame gale, ſo far back as the Iſle of Wight. The year after the abdication a ſquadron of French men of war (fourteen) landed King James and ſeveral of his chief military officers at Kinſale, without meeting with the Engliſh ſquadron diſpatched to prevent their debarkation; and not long after, a ſecond French fleet met with the ſame facility of landing, and put on ſhore a numerous foreign army, for enabling King James to diſpute the poſſeſſion of that kingdom with his ſon-in-law. But, Sir, this alarm of an invaſion, and the preſent debilitated ſtate of Great Britain and Ireland, will render it abſolutely neceſſary that we reſerve two thirds of our preſent force for the heart of the realm. The noble Lord with the blue ribbon [Lord North] ſpeaks in a high tone of preſumption, and boaſts of the "vigour of our navy:" being *particeps criminis* (I ſuſpect) with the Firſt Lord of the Admiralty, rather

through miſchievous policy than ſhort-ſightedneſs. Another honourable member oppoſite to me [the Lord Advocate of Scotland] truſts much to the exertion of our ſuperior naval armaments, "with energy." How, Sir, can you ſpare one ſhip of the line from the defence of this country, in caſe of a French and Spaniſh war? Suppoſe you had forty-three or forty-four of the line manned to their full war-complement; this ſtrength would ſcarcely ſuffice to cover your harbours and coaſts; you would have no cruiſers, no weſtern-ſquadron.—What is to become of your Weſt India iſlands, your Aſiatic ſettlements, and the important fortreſſes of Gibraltar and Mahon? The foreign ſtations, for a defenſive war only againſt France, will require near fifty ſail of the line; and againſt the two Houſes of Bourbon united, you cannot do with fewer on theſe ſervices than ſeventy-five or eighty. Your whole preſent extent of the line of battle would be little better (as was lately ſaid by a noble Earl in the other Houſe) [Lord Chatham] than a Mediterranean command, with proper reliefs. When have you ſeen ſo few as twenty ſail of the line on that ſervice, againſt the united power of Verſailles and Madrid? Early in this century (the reign of Queen Anne) Sir George Rooke and Sir Cloudeſly Shovel commanded a fleet of more than fifty ſail of the line in that ſea; and the fleet of the enemy was full as numerous; they had ſeventeen three-deckers. In the reign of George the Firſt, Sir George Byng had upwards of twenty ſail of the line of battle in the Meſſina fight; and his force was repreſented as inadequate to that ſtation. In the late King's reign (the war before the laſt) the ſquadron under the Admirals Matthews and Leſtock conſiſted of above forty men of war of the line; and the combined fleets of France and Spain proved fully their match. I ſhall perhaps be told, that in 1762, when the French and Spaniards were united againſt Great Britain, we had few more than twenty ſail of the line of battle in the Mediterranean off Cadiz; and, notwithſtanding which, we were too ſtrong for the enemy: but let gentlemen recollect, that the *coup de grace* was given to the naval power of France the preceding ſummer; and the Spaniſh navy was the only one we had to contend with, and near half their men of war of ſuperior rates were on the continent of Spaniſh America, or at Cuba. A very diſtinguiſhed and reſpectable ſea-officer, in another place [Earl of Briſtol] having repreſented our ſhips of 50 guns as men of war of the line, was moſt preſumptuouſly queſtioned on the propriety

propriety of ſuch idea, by the noble Lord who preſides as firſt commiſſioner for navy affairs; perhaps (as the honourable member [Mr. Fox] who opened this debate has already obſerved to the committee) not through ignorance in that noble Lord, but becauſe he wiſhed to avoid taking a comparative view of the number of fifty-gun ſhips at this time, in our navy, to what we had in former wars. True it is, that our fifty-gun ſhips, at preſent, in and out of commiſſion, do not exceed fourteen or fifteen; there were, till within theſe few years laſt paſt, near thrice that number. But, Sir, there can be no doubt of the propriety of calling thoſe ſhips men of war of the line. They carry the ſame weight of metal (twenty-four pounders and twelves) as 60 gun ſhips; and in action lead the van or cloſe the rear; and of courſe are brought into the line of action, unleſs where the enemy is inferior in number; in which caſe they generally keep at a diſtance, to replace diſabled veſſels in the line if occaſion ſhould require it; otherwiſe, to protect the unarmed part of your fleet, to chace ſhips of the enemy, to repeat ſignals, and for other contingent duties. In the laſt war, and the war preceding the laſt, very eminent ſervices were performed by your ſhips of 50 guns, the Hampſhire, Portland, Antelope, &c. under Baird, Stephens, and other gallant commanders. In the Toulon fight, the Guernſey, of 50 guns, was oppoſed in the Britiſh ſquadron to the Podèr, a French man of war of 64 guns, and actually forced her out of the line. In 1755, when Admiral Boſcawen detached five of his ſquadron to block up four ſail of French men of war of the line of battle, three of thoſe five were ſhips of 50 guns. In ſhort, Sir, the authority of the noble Peer [Lord Briſtol] one of the beſt accredited ſea-officers in the world, might have been deemed of ſufficient weight to decide whether they are to be accounted among your line of battle or frigates. Sure I am, that in caſe of a foreign war, we ſhall have need to employ them as ſhips of the line; and there are ſome ſhips of that claſs now on the American ſtation, which, from the advantage they poſſeſs of good Britiſh crews, and being thoroughly ſeaſoned to the element, and to naval duty, I ſhould not be in much pain for, were a combat to happen with a French man of war of 60 guns; although I do not think the ſhips of our fleet in general ſo conditioned, with their reduced eſtabliſhments, as to fight at odds againſt thoſe of France. I aſk pardon for taking up ſo much time in this diſcuſſion; but am again to urge, in excuſe, the very great

importance of the matter before you, and the peculiar manner in which I had pledged myſelf to Parliament, to eſtabliſh and verify reiterated charges of groſs error and perilous miſmanagement (not to uſe worſe epithets) againſt a formidable miniſterial board. It is but too evident that your ſhips of war fit for ſervice are fewer in number, and thoſe leſs to be depended on for duration, than ever was known ſince Great Britain has been a maritime power; that twice as much money has been expended within the laſt eight years, for building, repairing, and preſerving your ſhips, as was applied to theſe objects during the whole courſe of the laſt glorious war; and that the preſent noble preſident at the admiralty-board [Lord Sandwich] after expending a ſum of money thereon, which might have conſtructed one hundred ſail of the line, and as many frigates, new from the ſtocks, has your navy at this day on not near ſo formidable a footing, as when he came to the board in January 1771. As to ſeamen and marines, though we are now in the month of March, you want upwards of 12,000 to complete the numbers voted for the ſervice of the current year; for the laſt weekly accounts differ but immaterially from thoſe made up to November laſt, now before the committee; neither will you eaſily find the means of ſupplying ſuch deficiency, though you have raiſed your entrance-money to 12*l.* 2*s.* for each volunteer (including the public encouragements beyond the 5*l.* 5*s.* from the crown) to the great prejudice of commerce and ruin of the merchants; and the men, thus dearly bought, are not in general of a mould, or profeſſional deſcription, to be compared with thoſe recruited on ſimilar emergencies heretofore. Men are not to be had for navy nor army; though for the latter you have lowered the ſtandard almoſt to dwarf ſtature, and doubled the bounties. If the bill for encouraging ſeamen and ſea-faring perſons to enter voluntarily, which I did myſelf, in the laſt ſeſſion, the honour to propoſe to the Houſe, had met with a favourable reception, many thouſands of your beſt mariners, who are now gone over to Holland, or ſerving in the fleets of your revolted ſubjects, might have been within reach at this day. At a future ſeaſon, notwithſtanding former prejudices, and every miniſterial diſcouragement for the ſake of perquiſites, I ſhall revive my earneſt endeavours to augment the pay of your ſeamen in times of peace, to provide for them under the infirmities of age, and limit the time of their ſervitude; till you aboliſh the horrid unconſtitutional practice

of

of impreſſing, and hold out theſe lures, you will never find the profeſſion of a ſeaman much followed by the lower orders of the people; and I fully demonſtrated, in the courſe of a former debate, that the preſent enormous expences to the nation in providing ſeamen (the natural conſequence of compulſion and violence) might in great meaſure be ſaved. I look, Sir, upon thoſe miniſterial gentlemen who voted laſt year againſt bringing in a bill for ſuch ſalutary ends, to be anſwerable for no fewer than 160 innocent lives at leaſt, which have fallen a ſacrifice to the preſs-warrants, and the ſavages indiſcriminately let looſe to enforce them upon free-born ſubjects; beſides a multitude of ſeamen driven into foreign pay. Sir, your fleet can never cope with the confederate naval ſtrength of France, Spain, and America: I own, high as I eſteem your naval character, I ſhould dread the conteſt. The beſt of the northern ſeamen of the American continent are yet in reſerve; they made a conſiderable part of Gates's land army at Saratoga, being wiſely prevented, by the general convention of New England, from entering into naval employ, while their ſervice could be of far greater utility on ſhore, and they ran leſs riſque of falling into the hands of the Britiſh invaders. But, Sir, ſhould the thirteen united provinces of America become free and independent, I could in reaſon entertain no very direful apprehenſions therefrom. Thirteen hundred miles of coaſt will not be found equal to the extent of the coaſts of Great Britain and Ireland. In theſe our iſlands are ports for ſhipping more in number, and full as commodious; our population is at preſent in the proportion of near four to one; and our inſular ſtate is better adapted to promote external commerce, and internal mercantile communications, than is the caſe with that vaſt expanded continent of America; our climate is happier; our poſition, as to the three other quarters of the globe, far more advantageous; the ſouthern coaſt of America during one half of the year being unwholeſome, and incommoded by long calms or irregular inſidious currents; the northern provinces ſubject to thick, tempeſtuous weather, and ſcarcely acceſſible during the winter ſeaſon. I believe, we have in Great Britain and Ireland more cultivatable and productive territory than in all the thirteen receded provinces put together; I mean, within the limits of their great chain of lakes. Cataracts immenſe, torrented rivers, high mountains, and impervious foreſts, are noble and magnificent features for painting or poetry;

poetry; but in practical ſocieties, and for the ends of agriculture, manufactures, or commerce, they cannot ſurely be preferred to the humbler ſtreams of England; to our fertile plains, and more practicable ſoil. While you compel the natives of the thirteen provinces to become to a man ſoldiers or ſeamen in their own defence, they may be formidable indeed to your Weſt India iſlands, or on remoter enterprizes; but if once left to ſettle in peace, their intereſt, their ſober wiſdom and gravity, above all, their natural love of liberty, and jealouſy of military power, will dictate to them to lay aſide the ſword and firelock, and take up the ſhuttle and the ploughſhare; they will turn their thoughts to huſbandry, to manufactures, and to eſtabliſh a pacific civil government, on the baſis of induſtry and commercial policy. That they may rival us in ſeveral branches of trade I do not deny; but ſuch rivalry will ſerve (I truſt) as a ſpur to the genius and ingenuity of the natives of this country, and ſtimulate us to make uſe of thoſe ſuperior advantages with which (as I have already obſerved) we are bleſſed by nature. Improve your oriental and your African trades; the latter may, with proper management, be made abſolutely to govern the commerce of America at European markets. Africa produces not only the commodity, but likewiſe the labourer to reap and to work it; the indigo, the rice of Carolina, the tobacco of Virginia, cannot be produced without the African Negroes; a voyage from Great Britain to Senegambia is performed in little more than a fortnight. Thoſe who ſpeculate upon the imperial greatneſs of the Americans at ſome future day, perhaps go far beyond the bounds of human probability. Who can ſay what inteſtine diſſenſions, what epidemical diſeaſes, what bloody wars, or other ill-fated events, to cruſh ſuch ambitious and glorious proſpects, may or may not be found in the future hiſtory of that continent, though the firſt page of it is now ſo promiſing, ſo auſpicious? Perhaps, Sir, when juſt approaching towards the zenith of their glory and proſperity, Providence may (as has been in our days the caſe with the mother-country) for the completeſt of all curſes in the nature of ſublunary things, beſtow ſuch a ſet of miniſters to rule over them, as thoſe who have, under George the Third, precipitated this nation from the higheſt pinnacle of fame and happineſs, to the loweſt abyſs of wretchedneſs and diſgrace. I hope, Sir, we ſhall, in good time, before the well-affected parts of your American colonies

nies embrace the confederacy of the thirteen, now in a fair road of independence; I ſay, I hope we ſhall have wiſdom enough to preſerve them from the like contagion and revolt. Canada, Newfoundland, the gates of the river St. Laurence, together with Nova Scotia, and the Two Floridas, are as yet appendages of the Britiſh empire. It is much to be apprehended, that we may ſee hoſtile banners braving the coaſts of England and Scotland next ſummer, with more ſtripes than thirteen. I heartily join the honourable member who has ſpoken on this ſubject with his uſual ſpirit, accuracy, and ſagacity [Mr. Charles Fox], and with extreme ſatisfaction ſecond the reſolutions he has put to the committee; as nothing can be clearer than the inadequate ſtate of your naval power to the preſent criſis of public affairs, excepting the proſtitution, the miſmanagement, and atrocious criminality, of thoſe miniſters whom our deluded Sovereign has fatally choſen to entruſt with this main bulwark of the empire.

Mr. *Hippeſley Coxe*, in the courſe of the debate, ſaid, he had lately left the kingdom of France, and was perfectly convinced a war would very ſoon break out between Great Britain and that country; that France was arming with the utmoſt alertneſs; that the troops were marching in large bodies to the ſea ports; and that every thing wore the appearance of military preparation.

Lord *North* denied this; and declared that the court of Verſailles had checked her ardour, and had ordered the troops to march back from the ſea-ports to the interior provinces.

Admiral *Keppel* took occaſion to ſay, that if he had the honour to be employed in the ſervice of his country, he rather wiſhed to have a ſmall fleet well fitted and completely manned, than a large number of ſhips badly equipped.

The previous queſtion was put, and carried without a diviſion.

March 12.

Mr. Alderman *Wilkes* made his annual motion, reſpecting the Middleſex election. The queſtion was called for, when the numbers were for it, 36, againſt it 88.

Hon. *James Luttrell*. The ſubject which I think it my duty to enter upon, is certainly of importance beyond my abilities to do juſtice to; but I beg leave to offer my ſentiments to this Houſe as a proof, that not only the firſt and moſt diſtinguiſhed of its members, but even down to myſelf, who

who have the leaſt pretenſions amongſt you, are equally willing to exert themſelves to the beſt of their abilities and capacity, hoping to apply effectual remedies to thoſe evils, which have brought on this nation a criſis of ſuch great difficulty and danger.

That it would always have been more honourable and wiſe for Great Britain to have offered proper terms of peace to the colonies, than to have held out unconditional ſubmiſſion, I believe every perſon will admit, who is convinced by this war, that no names, however pompous and high-ſounding, whether the divine inſtitution of prerogative, ſupremacy of Parliament, or dignity of the nation, can ſanctify to a free people acts of injuſtice, tyranny, and oppreſſion.

With reſpect to the conciliatory plan, that it would have proved both expedient and ſucceſsful to have offered ſuch a plan ſome months ago, nobody can reaſonably deny: but how far the meaſure is expedient now; that is to ſay, how far it is in itſelf adequate to obtain peace under the circumſtances of the preſent times, remains as yet to be proved. I ſincerely wiſh it ſucceſs, and, convinced of the ruinous expence and fatal conſequences attending the war, I was happy to ſee any plan brought into Parliament, which might tend to declare a diſpoſition towards peace on the part of Great Britain: but I cannot give credit to miniſters who ſeem reſolved to make the good which Parliament and the nation might agree to, totally impracticable to be carried into effect; miniſters, who, conſcious that they are an obſtacle to terms, however adequate, proving acceptable in America, are capable of ſetting higher value on the emoluments of their offices, and gratification of private ambition, than on the peace and proſperity of the empire. For, Sir, we may debate and vote as we pleaſe, Americans, not us, are to decide the fate of the conciliatory plan; and undoubtedly they will not only take into their conſideration the fairneſs or artfulneſs of your propoſals for peace, but the men they are to truſt to for performance and future conſiſtency of conduct; and let theſe miniſters be ever ſo much flattered by the extraordinary ſupport they have met with here, let them call themſelves by what pompous names or high titles they think fit, they undoubtedly are the men who perſecuted and inſulted America; therefore, Sir, by what madneſs can Americans be ſuppoſed to conceive that men ſo rewarded and in favour for having broke through their charters, and trampled on their juſt rights, will never dare in future to break the faith of any treaty, or by undue *influence* here attempt to violate the moſt ſacred pledge of legiſlature?

giſlature? May not America receive every propoſal, whilſt ſuch men are kept in power, as an inſult? May not America conceive that now a blow is meditated at liberty through ſtate craft, which force of arms could not effect? Or how can ſuch a wavering miniſtry be depended on? who, appearing attached to no fixed principles of public juſtice, can be bound by no ſyſtem of policy or maxims of government, changing the object of the war with every weſtern breeze, and now aſſuming the borrowed plumage of the peaceful dove, flattering themſelves America will not diſcern the cruel vultures that have preyed on her. Such miniſters may deceive themſelves; but to all the world muſt appear as inadequate to peace, as they have proved themſelves incompetent to war.

We can only hope, Sir, that America will not think it neceſſary to guard againſt an inferior and ſecondary power, a certain deſcription of men who appear to act under the reſponſible miniſters, but who have held out this olive branch in a moſt ſuſpicious and equivocal manner. I mean that ſort of Janus politician, who has one face towards America, another towards his Majeſty; one countenance expreſſing peace, harmony, and unanimity, and another disfigured with the ugly paſſions of falſe pride, hatred, and revenge; one voice to vote in favour of perſecuted America, another to talk vehemently of inſulted, degraded, powerful Great Britain. Such undeciſive ſupport can do ſervice to no country, and I truſt they will prove the laſt, the leaſt in power; for ſooner ſhall the two faces of Janus meet, than America and Britons through their mediation.

I regret, Sir, that Parliament was not ſooner allowed to inquire into the ſtate of the nation; for I think that inquiry ought to have been finiſhed, as a ſolid foundation for a treaty of peace, as I truſt the object of that inquiry is to redreſs grievances, by removing all obſtacles, whether men or meaſures, in order to prevent a perſeverance in inevitable ruin. When miniſters are found guilty, ſurely to correct vice by cheriſhing it is a new experiment; and perhaps a miniſtry, who by their preſent conduct bear fatal teſtimony of their paſt ruinous and bloody errors, may be thought more in character as patrons of the ſavages, then examples of Britiſh integrity, humanity, and virtue, worthy of American confidence and eſteem.

Some indeed pretend, that it is inconſiſtent with our duty to ſhew the weak and perilous ſituation of this country. Good God, Sir, was there ever an inquiry into the ſtate of the nation becauſe miniſters were virtuous and Great Britain

in

in proſperity? Amidſt all the glories of laſt war, who would have moved an inquiry into the ſtate of the nation? It can only be called for when great calamity requires immediate redreſs. Such is now the ſituation of public affairs: and it is therefore our duty to open the eyes of our Sovereign to misfortunes, in which he is not leſs a ſufferer than his people, and to convince him that thoſe miniſters who loſt his dominions, by endeavouring to make the prerogative of the crown incompatible with the happineſs of the ſubject, have proved themſelves equally an enemy to both.

If the treaty with France has taken place, I fear it is not a queſtion that thirteen provinces, and the hearts of a brave and powerful people, are loſt to his Majeſty; it is rather what men and what meaſures can ſave the reſt of America? But ſuppoſing the caſe not totally deſperate; if ruin or ſeparation is not unavoidable, yet ſurely it is at leaſt a criſis when the meaſures to prevent it ought to be ſent out with ſuch an unqueſtionable appearance of ſincerity, that it may be received as a proof of his Majeſty's affection and love of juſtice towards his ſubjects, rather than as an aſſent extorted through fear and neceſſity; extorted from miniſters openly obſtinate and cruel, till diſappointed in their arbitrary views abroad and become jealous of their rivals at home.

Perhaps the noble Lord in the blue ribbon expects to be an exception, becauſe he formerly propoſed a conciliatory plan. As to the noble Lord's heart, I believe it has never been conſulted in the cabinet; and as to his conciliatory plan, it appeared to the Americans indeed more plauſible than unconditional ſubmiſſion but not more expreſſive of peaceful intentions: for the theory of Parliament's deſiſting from taxation as long as the American tribute ſhould amount to as much money as a vote of this Houſe ſhould require, was a mockery of freedom, and the practice of exacting ſuch a tribute by force of arms, tyranny and oppreſſion.

We know that miniſters muſt govern the nation; the duty of Parliament is to ſee they do it honeſtly and wiſely, or to endeavour to remove them from his Majeſty's councils. It is likewiſe the duty of Parliament to ſupport and look up to men who have more honourable pretenſions to the confidence and eſteem of the Sovereign and the people: in ſuch men it is meritorious to ſeek places of truſt; for the crime cannot conſiſt in holding a public office; the vice is in employing the power to bad purpoſes. Lord Chatham was a true patriot for having availed himſelf of that power which enabled him by his wiſdom and virtue to raiſe his country to the higheſt pitch of glory

glory and proſperity, than if he had indolently conten'ed himſelf with the duty of a private member; and it is reaſonable to ſuppoſe, that his Majeſty may find able, vigilant, and experienced ſtateſmen, capable of governing with infinite more ſteadineſs and judgment, more for his Majeſty's honour and peace of mind, upon ſounder principles of public juſtice, more likely to be confided in by Great Britain and by America, than theſe miniſters who have loſt one half the empire, and nearly ruined the other half.

It was long, too long, thrown out to the public, that thoſe who contended in Parliament for equal liberty and equal happineſs in every part of the Britiſh empire, were an American faction: whilſt peace was attainable on ſuch terms, miniſters were accuſtomed to allow, that America could only depend on ſuch a faction for performance; a faction, Sir, who ſtill muſt have the credit of not being apt to give up their opinions of public juſtice, nor affect to change their principles; a faction, who warned theſe miniſters over and over again, not to delay a treaty till ſuch time as it ſhould be neceſſary to exchange unconditional ſubmiſſion in America for unconditional ſubmiſſion in Great Britain; and moſt of whom I believe ſtill look with aſtoniſhment at perſons who ſeem to perſevere in perſuading Majeſty, that nothing is inglorious for a King to be reduced to conſent to, except to change his miniſters.

By every intelligence from America, and, by the nature of man, I think it appears that America is not blind to paſt injuries, I think it is evident, that theſe miniſters are odious, miſtruſted, and abhorred there; and from that I infer, that the Americans will refuſe to enter into any negotiation with the commiſſioners, if ſuch miniſters are to remain in power. Then what will be the uſe of the conciliatory plan, even ſuppoſe it to be ever ſo perfect? Sir, is it not reaſonable to believe the Americans will refuſe to put any future confidence in men who have already betrayed them, murdered them with ſavage cruelty, abuſed them with the tongue of hatred, and appear to be rewarded inſtead of puniſhed for having ſo done?

May not the confidence with which ſuch miniſters trample on the ſubjects, cauſe them to go farther than miſtruſt of the miniſter, and materially affect his Majeſty's honour? Muſt we force the Americans to give us more fatal proofs that they are neither cowards nor fools? Will they not juſtly attribute to a want of ſpirit in this country, not a want of ſpirit in that country, any idea of putting future confidence in ſuch a miniſtry? And the delay of explanations and altercations

would

through miſchievous policy than ſhort-ſightedneſs. Another honourable member oppoſite to me [the Lord Advocate of Scotland] truſts much to the exertion of our ſuperior naval armaments, "with energy." How, Sir, can you ſpare one ſhip of the line from the defence of this country, in caſe of a French and Spaniſh war? Suppoſe you had forty-three or forty-four of the line manned to their full war-complement; this ſtrength would ſcarcely ſuffice to cover your harbours and coaſts; you would have no cruiſers, no weſtern-ſquadron.—What is to become of your Weſt India iſlands, your Aſiatic ſettlements, and the important fortreſſes of Gibraltar and Mahon? The foreign ſtations, for a defenſive war only againſt France, will require near fifty ſail of the line; and againſt the two Houſes of Bourbon united, you cannot do with fewer on theſe ſervices than ſeventy-five or eighty. Your whole preſent extent of the line of battle would be little better (as was lately ſaid by a noble Earl in the other Houſe) [Lord Chatham] than a Mediterranean command, with proper reliefs. When have you ſeen ſo few as twenty ſail of the line on that ſervice, againſt the united power of Verſailles and Madrid? Early in this century (the reign of Queen Anne) Sir George Rooke and Sir Cloudeſly Shovel commanded a fleet of more than fifty ſail of the line in that ſea; and the fleet of the enemy was full as numerous; they had ſeventeen three-deckers. In the reign of George the Firſt, Sir George Byng had upwards of twenty ſail of the line of battle in the Meſſina fight; and his force was repreſented as inadequate to that ſtation. In the late King's reign (the war before the laſt) the ſquadron under the Admirals Matthews and Leſtock conſiſted of above forty men of war of the line; and the combined fleets of France and Spain proved fully their match. I ſhall perhaps be told, that in 1762, when the French and Spaniards were united againſt Great Britain, we had few more than twenty ſail of the line of battle in the Mediterranean off Cadiz; and, notwithſtanding which, we were too ſtrong for the enemy: but let gentlemen recollect, that the *coup de grace* was given to the naval power of France the preceding ſummer; and the Spaniſh navy was the only one we had to contend with, and near half their men of war of ſuperior rates were on the continent of Spaniſh America, or at Cuba. A very diſtinguiſhed and reſpectable ſea-officer, in another place [Earl of Briſtol] having repreſented our ſhips of 50 guns as men of war of the line, was moſt preſumptuouſly queſtioned on the propriety

tween Great Britain and her colonies, that the commiſſioners may be enabled to promiſe, in his Majeſty's name, the earlieſt removal of ſuch miniſter or miniſters from his Majeſty's councils."

Mr. *J. Johnſtone* ſeconded the motion.

Lord *Beauchamp* objected to the mode of proceeding; aſſerting, that the only parliamentary one was, to addreſs his Majeſty to diſmiſs thoſe miniſters who were odious to the people, or ſuſpected of mal-adminiſtration. But there was no occaſion for ſuch addreſs, as he believed it was generally admitted, both within and without doors, that the preſent miniſters were highly approved by the whole people of Great Britain and Ireland.

Mr. *Rigby* ſaid, that he liked to hear gentlemen ſpeak out, as they now did; crying out againſt men, and not meaſures. That if they had not told him they looked more to men than meaſures, he ſhould nevertheleſs have been ſure of it. That the Americans reſpected no one ſet of men more than another, and had as ſoon enter into treaty with the preſent miniſters as with thoſe who paſſed the declaratory act.

Mr. *Fox* obſerved, that he thought, that ſince the time of old Cato, the doctrine of *peccata omnia ſunt paria* had been exploded. That he ſhould not have thought the honourable gentleman had ſo particularly been given to the maxims of that order, as implicitly to adopt them; for that he himſelf ſaw great differences between the grievances, if there were any in the declaratory act, and thoſe which had been the cauſe of the preſent war.

Sir *Cecil Wray*. Though he wiſhed the miniſtry ſhould be removed, and even removed out of the world, for the miſchiefs they had brought on this country, if it could be done legally and conſtitutionally, yet oppoſed this motion as unconſtitutional; and that, if carried, it would not effect the purpoſes intended, of promoting a conciliation with the colonies.

That to remove a miniſter, it muſt either be on the petition of the people who conceived themſelves ill governed or oppreſſed, or on the addreſs of the Houſes of Parliament; but to give a power to a part of the empire to do this againſt the opinion of the reſt (for that the miniſtry had acted in conformance to the opinion of the people he inferred, from the impoſſibility they would have had of proſecuting their plans if contrary to it) would be the ſtrangeſt idea, perfectly unprecedented, and might be a moſt dangerous example to futurity; as on every diſguſt in our own dominions, every ambaſſador to foreign parts might negotiate away the undoubted conſtitutional rights of the executive power.

Nor did he think it would be attended with any good conſequence, in reſpect to the treaty now to be negotiated with the colonies, if they entered into a treaty; what they would expect would be good terms, and good ſecurity for the performance of them.

That he apprehended America would demand better terms for herſelf when treating with her moſt avowed enemies, than ſhe might from thoſe whoſe general ſentiments had been in favour of her proceedings; but that a removal, perhaps temporary, of any miniſter, could give no ſecurity for the performance of them. Had the motion gone not only to the removal, but to the utter excluſion, of all thoſe who had poured poiſon into the ears of Majeſty, with an appointment of men, and adoption in the King of different principles, ſome ſecurity might be deſired from her; but that the ſecurity of the terms to America muſt be from the removal of the Britiſh armies, and the appointment of her own governors, and to this he apprehended we muſt agree.

He did not apprehend we had given up any thing, in the laws lately paſſed, which of right belonged to us; that we never had any right to tax or regulate the charters of America without their conſent; but that the motion tended to giving up the honour of this nation, in its eſſential points, without any poſſible advantages to ourſelves.

Mr. *Aubrey* ſaid, that he believed the laſt honourable gentleman who ſpoke might find commiſſioners having power of diſmiſſing miniſters, and that of negotiating for the repeal of all acts whatſoever, in the ſame page of the journals; that notwithſtanding what the right honourable gentleman [Mr. Rigby] had ſaid, "of all ſets of men being alike to the Americans," he could aſſert, from authority, that the Congreſs had repeatedly declared, that they never would treat with our preſent ſet of miniſters, which was a ſtrong implication at leaſt that they would treat with another; that whether indeed they did this in imitation only of the magnanimous reſolutions of our miniſters that they would never treat with the Congreſs, he could not tell; that however, as the *delenda eſt Carthago* had been a favourite maxim on the treaſury-bench when England had the ſuperiority, he thought it might be reaſonably expected that the cry of the Americans would, in return, be at leaſt the diſmiſſion of our miniſters; that policy directed us to take every ſtep to regain the affections of the Americans, but that it could not be hoped for, while our affairs were entruſted to thoſe hands by which their country had been ravaged, and their friends and relations put to the ſword. What

reliance

reliance would the Americans put in the moſt pacific and moſt amicable declarations, when uttered by thoſe mouths who had hitherto never talked of any thing leſs than checking the growth of the colonies, which he took to be only a milder and modeſter expreſſion for what they afterwards in fact attempted, the ſtarving and extirpating them. That it was with the concurrence of this miniſtry that Lord Hilſborough pledged the faith of Parliament, as well as the honour of his Sovereign, (for his approving Lord Bottetourt's explanation of his letter was certainly adopting it for his own,) that no alteration ſhould be made in the ſyſtem of taxation: a promiſe, which, as ſoon as it had ſerved the purpoſe of allaying the diſcontents of America, they no longer regarded or thought of, when intereſt prompted them to break it. And that intereſt was ſo trivial that it demonſtrated they either thought very lightly of their honour, or elſe meant to introduce by degrees an important and an oppreſſive taxation: the very reverſe of what they had ſo ſolemnly promiſed through the medium of Lord Hilſborough. That he was convinced, that unleſs it were imagined that the ſentiments of a whole people could change as ſuddenly as the conduct of the noble Lord [Lord North] had done, the Americans would never agree to any negotiation while the preſent miniſters remained in power.

Hon. *James Luttrell* in reply. I beg leave to ſay a few words more in defence of the motion; and to explain more fully the opinions which induced me to think it proper; for, Sir, if no degree of cenſure is due to the miniſters, ſome may be thought due to me for having moved ſuch an addreſs. Comparing what I have ſaid with the language of their friends and dependents, or with their encomiums upon themſelves, undoubtedly I have ſaid too much; but, Sir, it is not on the characters they bear either on one ſide this Houſe or the other, that I urge the neceſſity for ſuch an addreſs; it is on their characters in America; becauſe on the degree of confidence that Americans may think it wiſe and prudent to repoſe in them, muſt depend the fate of the conciliatory bill: for if performance of promiſes ſhould be doubted, there can be no negotiation; and without which the conditions of the plan can be of no utility; and certainly all I have ſaid againſt the miniſters, is extreme moderation when compared with publications of the Congreſs, or the opinions generally declared by the Americans.

I am ſurpriſed to hear a noble Lord [Lord Beauchamp] affirm that the preſent adminiſtration is approved of in Great Britain! Good God, Sir, is the American war a doubt?

Is the loſs of ſo many valuable ſubjects gone for ever a doubt? Is the decline of commerce, the failure of public credit, the ſquander of the public treaſure, are theſe things doubted? Is it ſcarce a doubt that ſuch miſchiefs of the ſtate will tempt France and Spain to declare war againſt us? No, Sir, theſe are not doubts, theſe are the works of this adminiſtration; theſe are broad facts which ſtare men in the face, and make them look at each other with aſtoniſhment.

Gentlemen talk of degrading the dignity of Great Britain, by ſetting leſs value on the office and emoluments of a miniſter, than a revenue, acts of Parliament, and claims, formerly of advantage to the crown, all of which have been relinquiſhed in hopes to put an end to ſo ruinous a war. Sir, I have no ſuch magnificent ideas of miniſters; I know no *etiquette* that can juſtify our ſacrificing the peace and proſperity of the empire to their private ambition; and as to the objection to the motion for want of a precedent, if there has been none, permit me to add, that there never was ſuch an occaſion before, to require ſuch a meaſure. The preſent miniſters certainly provoked the Americans to aim at independency, by oppoſing their juſt demands, and forcing them into new and dangerous claims: if the ſame miniſters mean to perſevere in ſimilar policy till America ſhall not only be independent, but totally ſeparated and unconnected with England, then indeed it matters not to the Americans who ſhall be miniſters of Great Britain. But, if we are to be united upon the principles of the conciliatory bills, if we are to regulate commerce, to protect each others property, to be again connected by any tie of mutual faith and confidence, nay, even by alliance, it muſt ever be of conſequence to America who ſhall be miniſters of Great Britain.

An honourable member [Sir Cecil Wray] conceived the motion not to be ſufficiently expreſſive, becauſe it left the King at liberty to turn the miniſters out but for a day, or to take them again as ſoon into his councils. Mr. Luttrell obſerved, that he had too great a reſpect for his Majeſty to think him capable of trifling with an addreſs of Parliament, and the expreſs deſire of half his dominions; he was therefore glad that the motion was totally inconſiſtent, with ſuch ſtrange miſapprehenſions of his Majeſty's goodneſs, as deſcribed by that honourable member. If indeed, upon any point of *etiquette*, the motion could be condemned, he was led into the error by paying attention to his Majeſty's firſt miniſter [Lord North]; for when, to the aſtoniſhment of many, he obſerved, that the com-

commiſſioners ſhould treat with rebels in arms, and the Congreſs, the noble Lord aſſigned as a reaſon that no *etiquette* whatſoever ought to be an obſtacle to the grand object of peace. That place or penſion ſhould not be an obſtacle was not promiſed; but that no *etiquette* ſhould oppoſe the conciliatory plan he did undoubtedly declare. Mr. Luttrell ſaid, he regretted much that the addreſs was not moved by a member of greater importance than himſelf; as he thought it of conſequence, and neceſſary to be granted; but he ſhould ſit down with the ſatisfaction of having done his duty to the beſt of his abilities in times like theſe; and that would give him ſome conſolation even in defeat.

The Houſe divided; for the motion 55, againſt it 150.

March 16.

Lord *North* gave notice that next day he ſhould preſent a meſſage from the King.

Mr. *Grenville* ſaid, he believed the ſubject of the meſſage was already anticipated by the Houſe. But that gentlemen might be truly, as well as fully, informed, before they determined what anſwer to give, he begged leave to move, "That an humble addreſs be preſented to his Majeſty, to deſire that he will be graciouſly pleaſed to order that there be laid before this Houſe, copies of all communications from his Majeſty's ambaſſador at the court of France, or the French ambaſſador at this court, touching any treaty of alliance, confederacy, or commerce, entered into between the court of France and the revolted colonies in North America."

Lord *North* ſaid it would be exceedingly improper to produce the papers; as they would expoſe certain perſons who had given ſecret intelligence: and moved the previous queſtion.

Mr. *Grenville* ſaid he did not wiſh to expoſe any man; and amended his motion with, "or extracts."

Lord *North* ſaid the amendment could not be received after the previous queſtion had been moved.

Mr. *Fox* got up in great warmth, and reprehended Lord North in the ſevereſt terms, for what he called quibbling and chicane.

Lord *North* withdrew his motion; and the amendment was received: after which he moved the previous queſtion again. He deſired the Houſe to take notice, that he had never ſaid the treaty between France and America was not ſigned; and added, that his policy for concealing it was good. The French had been the firſt to make it known. If it was the intereſt of

France to publiſh it, it was the intereſt of England to conceal it. He called the French ambaſſador's reſcript inſolent and offenſive; and concluded with ſaying, it was his firm unalterable reſolution to keep his place.

The Houſe divided; for the previous queſtion 231, againſt it 146.

March 17.

Lord *North* acquainted the Houſe, that he had a meſſage from his Majeſty to this Houſe, ſigned by his Majeſty; and he preſented the ſame to the Houſe; and it was read by Mr. Speaker, and is as followeth, viz.

"GEORGE R.

"His Majeſty having been informed, by order of the French King, that a treaty of amity and commerce has been ſigned between the court of France and certain perſons employed by his Majeſty's revolted ſubjects in North America, has judged it neceſſary to direct, that a copy of the declaration, delivered by the French ambaſſador to Lord Viſcount Weymouth, be laid before the Houſe of Commons; and at the ſame time to acquaint them, that his Majeſty has thought proper, in conſequence of this offenſive communication on the part of the court of France, to ſend orders to his ambaſſador to withdraw from that court.

"His Majeſty is perſuaded, that the juſtice and good faith of his conduct towards foreign powers, and the ſincerity of his wiſhes to preſerve the tranquillity of Europe, will be acknowledged by all the world; and his Majeſty truſts, that he ſhall not ſtand reſponſible for the diſturbance of that tranquillity, if he ſhould find himſelf called upon to reſent ſo unprovoked and ſo unjuſt an aggreſſion on the honour of his crown, and the eſſential intereſts of his kingdoms, contrary to the moſt ſolemn aſſurances, ſubverſive of the law of nations, and injurious to the rights of every ſovereign power in Europe.

"His Majeſty, relying with the firmeſt confidence on the zealous and affectionate ſupport of his faithful people, is determined to be prepared to exert, if it ſhall become neceſſary, all the force and reſources of his kingdoms; which he truſts will be found adequate to repel every inſult and attack, and to maintain and uphold the power and reputation of this country. G. R."

Lord North alſo preſented the following paper, being the copy of a paper delivered to Lord Weymouth by the Marquis de Noailles, on the 13th of March, 1778.

"The

"The under-ſigned, ambaſſador from his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, has received expreſs orders to make the following declaration to the court of London:

"The United States of North America, who are in full poſſeſſion of independence, as pronounced by them on the fourth of July, 1776, having propoſed to the King, to conſolidate, by a formal convention, the connexion begun to be eſtabliſhed between the two nations, the reſpective plenipotentiaries have ſigned a treaty of friendſhip and commerce, deſigned to ſerve as a foundation for their mutual good correſpondence.

"His Majeſty being determined to cultivate the good underſtanding ſubſiſting between France and Great Britain, by every means compatible with his dignity and the good of his ſubjects, thinks it neceſſary to make this proceeding known to the court of London, and to declare at the ſame time, that the contracting parties have paid great attention, not to ſtipulate any excluſive advantages in favour of the French nation; and that the United States have reſerved the liberty of treating with every nation whatever, upon the ſame footing of equality and reciprocity.

"In making this communication to the court of London, the King is firmly perſuaded ſhe will find new proofs of his Majeſty's conſtant and ſincere diſpoſition for peace; and that his Britannic Majeſty, animated by the ſame ſentiments, will equally avoid every thing that may alter their good harmony; and that he will particularly take effectual meaſures to prevent the commerce between his Majeſty's ſubjects and the United States of North America from being interrupted; and to cauſe all the uſages received between commercial nations to be, in this reſpect, obſerved, and all thoſe rules which can be ſaid to ſubſiſt between the two crowns of France and Great Britain.

"In this juſt confidence, the under-ſigned ambaſſador thinks it ſuperfluous to acquaint the Britiſh miniſter, that the King his maſter, being determined to protect effectually the lawful commerce of his ſubjects, and to maintain the dignity of his flag, his Majeſty has, in conſequence, taken eventual meaſures in concert with the United States of North America.

London, March 13, 1778.

(Signed,) Le M. DE NOAILLES."

Lord *North* moved, That an humble addreſs be preſented to his Majeſty, to aſſure him, &c.

Lord *George Germaine* ſeconded the motion, but ſaid nothing elſe.

Mr. *Baker* thought it was not ſufficient to ſay we were in this dilemma which the French ambaſſador's paper told us; but inquiry ſhould be made how we came into it: and moved the following amendment (after aſſurances of ſupport): "Hoping and truſting that his Majeſty will be graciouſly pleaſed to remove from his councils thoſe perſons in whom his people, from paſt experience, have reaſon not to place confidence in the preſent momentous ſituation of public affairs."

Sir *George Yonge* ſeconded, and ſaid, that nobody could feel more than he did the general reſentment at the daring inſult offered us by the crown of France: that it ought to be reſented, and the injury repelled; and he did not doubt we had ſtrength and ſpirit to do it. But that he could not help at the ſame time lamenting the very diſtreſſing ſituation of public affairs, and the continued ſcenes of miſconduct, which he was convinced had encouraged the Houſe of Bourbon to offer this inſult. That we ſhould in vain offer ſupport to his Majeſty, if we did not at the ſame time inform him of the incapacity of thoſe in whom he had truſted for the management of his affairs; and the little reaſon his people had to place any confidence in them. That it was evident to all men the French had from the beginning fomented this American war. To put the matter out of doubt, the preſent notification confeſſed that their connexion with America took its date from the declaration of independency in July, 1776; that it was plain a negotiation had been carrying on ever ſince; that the ſervants of the crown ought to have known this; that he therefore concluded they did know it; and were unfit to govern a great country, if they did not: that, without now dwelling upon their having concealed and denied it, at leaſt they ought to have been prepared for this event; that, inſtead of this, the very treaty, and the notification, appeared to be a matter of as great ſurpriſe to the miniſters as to any body elſe. That their being unprepared for it had left the kingdom equally ſo; and expoſed, naked and defenceleſs, after a ruinous and diſgraceful war with America for three years, to the attacks of the united force of the Houſe of Bourbon, without any means prepared to reſiſt it. That our land forces were barely ſufficient for our

defence,

defence, without any means to garriſon or ſtrengthen our diſtant fortreſſes, ſettlements, or dependencies: that our navy, at the utmoſt, conſiſted of no more than thirty or thirty-five ſail of the line fit for ſervice: that twice that number was neceſſary for the various operations of war: that we had not a ſhip in the Mediterranean; ſo that Gibraltar and Minorca were left unguarded: that we had none in the Eaſt Indies or in Africa, and but a weak force in the Weſt Indies: that France had ſtrengthened herſelf in all theſe parts; and, in ſhort, all our dependencies were in imminent danger. That our credit was at the loweſt ebb; and the people had no confidence in government: that the French knew all this; and were by theſe circumſtances encouraged to offer us this inſult: that the people knew it; and his Majeſty ought to know it: that we beſt could inform his Majeſty of the caſe of his people; and the beſt time of doing it was, when we were offering him our ſupport; to expreſs our deſire, that he would do the only thing which could make any ſupport effectual. That nothing could tend more to depreſs the ſpirit of the people, or encourage our enemies, than the notion, that the ſame men who had ſo uniformly diſgraced us, and degraded the honour of the nation, as well as diminiſhed and expoſed to danger, not only the dependencies, but the very vital ſtrength of this empire, were likely to be ſtill further truſted to carry on a war, the moſt important and alarming that ever this country was threatened with. That as experience would make it impoſſible for the nation to have any confidence in the preſent miniſters, after ſuch repeated inſtances of folly, neglect, and incapacity, the removal of them could alone realize any offers of ſupport, and revive the drooping ſpirit of the people; and that he was convinced this ſingle meaſure would cauſe more alarm to our enemies, from the apprehenſion of the probable vigour and wiſdom of our councils, when truſted in abler hands, than all the warlike preparations we might make, if directed by the ſame imbecility which we had hitherto experienced, and they had ſo well availed themſelves of. He was really aſhamed to ſee thoſe miniſters who had brought us into the diſgrace of receiving ſuch an inſult, as that French paper was, upon the government of this country, ſhould dare to be the people to lay it before Parliament, and to tell the Houſe that they were the people ready to carry on the war. Therefore he roſe to ſecond his honourable friend's motion, which expreſſed the ſenſe of the nation, that theſe miniſters ought firſt to be removed, before any ſtep is taken.

taken. The French would not have dared to offer ſuch an inſult to any other miniſtry.

Governor *Pownall.* I do not riſe to defend miniſters; the object of this day is much above all ſuch conſiderations. I do not take into my eſtimation the pretenſions of any ſet of men; and as to the preſent miniſters, by an examination of their paſt conduct, which is to come under conſideration in a few days, we ſhall be better able to judge how far they are to be truſted for the future. In the magnitude of this day's buſineſs I will not mix, even in my ideas, any ſecondary objects. I am ſorry that it has entered into, or makes any part of, the ideas of my honourable friend [Sir George Yonge], becauſe, as there is no man in the Houſe for whom I have a higher reſpect, ſo there is no one to whoſe ſentiments I am more diſpoſed, on many occaſions, to ſubſcribe. But I ſee that ſome miſtaken ideas of the ſtate of this buſineſs has miſled him. He thinks that this treaty has been under negotiation (our miniſters ignorant of it all the while) for two years paſt. From an exact narrative of the ſtate of the buſineſs, he will ſee that the very idea of ſuch a treaty has not been ſix months in exiſtence; and the actual negotiation not more than three months. As I never preſume to aſſert any thing in this Houſe in which I am not grounded as to the fact or the truth; as I have never aſſerted any thing which the Houſe has not found to be true in the event; ſo, upon ſuch important matters as I ſhall now diſcloſe, I will not do it without accompanying that which I ſhall aſſert with the actual proofs. And I the rather do it on this occaſion, as I think that that ſtate of this buſineſs, which my information enables me to give, is the beſt commentary on the nature and purpoſe of the French paper laid before us; and alſo does beſt point out the conduct we ought to hold in conſequence of it.

In Auguſt laſt, the Americans, by their commiſſioners at Paris, began to preſs the miniſters of France to appear avowedly in their favour, and to give them ſubſtantial and effective aſſiſtance. But theſe miniſters, for various reaſons of ſtate, were deaf to theſe calls; they did not chooſe, by committing themſelves in the alliance with America, to involve themſelves in a war with England. They did not mean to give real ſupport to America, nor to meet in arms the force of Britain. They wiſhed, by remaining oſtenſibly neuter, to encourage Great Britain to go on in a ruinous conteſt; and, by privately aſſiſting the Americans, to encourage them to go on giving cauſe for ſuch conteſt. They wiſhed the continuance

ance of the war; and to aſſiſt neither party further than to prolong it, and to widen the breach. On this occaſion, and to obviate theſe ideas of falſe policy, the commiſſioners from the Americans preſented a memorial bearing to this very point; of which I will read ſome parts, moſt relevant to the preſent buſineſs.

"*Extract of a Memorial delivered by the American commiſſioners to the court of France*, 1778.

"The court of France ſuppoſes that the war between Great Britain and the United American Colonies will certainly continue for a conſiderable time longer, without any open interference on the part of France. But this ſuppoſition is even more fallacious than the former; the Britiſh government have every thing to loſe, and nothing to gain, by continuing the war.

"After the preſent campaign, they will therefore doubtleſs leſs make it their great and laſt effort to recover the dominion of America, and terminate the war. They probably hope that a few victories may, by the chance of war, be obtained; and that theſe on one hand, and the wants and diſtreſſes of the Coloniſts on the other, may induce them to return again to a dependence, more or leſs limited, on Great Britain. They muſt be ſenſible, that if ever America is to be conquered by them, it muſt be within the preſent year: that if it be impoſſible to do it in this year of the diſpute, it will be madneſs to expect more ſucceſs afterwards, when the difficulties of the Americans' former ſituation are removed; when their new independent governments have acquired ſtability; and when the people are become, as they ſoon will be, well armed, diſciplined, and ſupplied with all the means of reſiſtance.

"The Britiſh miniſtry muſt therefore be ſenſible, that a continuation of hoſtilities againſt the colonies, after this year, can only tend to prolong the danger, or invite an additional war in Europe; and they therefore doubtleſs intend, after having tried the ſucceſs of this campaign, however it may end, to make peace on the beſt terms which can be obtained. And if they cannot recover the colonies, as ſubjects, to admit their claim of independency, and ſecure them by a fœderal alliance. Therefore no means are left for France to prevent the coloniſts from being ſhortly reconciled to Great Britain, either as ſubjects or allies, but to enter immediately into ſuch engagements with them as will neceſſarily preclude all others; ſuch as will permanently bind

and

and ſecure their commerce and friendſhip, and enable them as well to repel the attacks, as to ſpurn at the offers of their preſent enemy.

"It muſt be remembered, that the firſt reſiſtance of the coloniſts was not to obtain independency, but a redreſs of their grievances; and that there are many among them who might even now be ſatisfied with a limited ſubjection to the Britiſh crown. A majority have indeed put in for the prize of independency: they have done it on a confidence that France, attentive to her moſt important intereſts, would ſoon give them open and effectual ſupport. But when they find themſelves diſappointed; when they ſee ſome of the powers of Europe furniſh troops to aſſiſt in their ſubjugation; another power proſcribing their commerce; and the reſt looking on, as indifferent ſpectators; it is very probable that, deſpairing of foreign aid, and ſeverely preſſed by their enemies, and their own internal wants and diſtreſſes, they may be inclined to accept of ſuch terms as it will be the intereſt and diſpoſition of the Britiſh government to grant them. Lord George Germaine, but a few weeks ſince, declared in the Houſe of Commons, that his hope of ending the American war this year, was, principally founded on the diſappointment which the coloniſts would feel, when they diſcover that no aſſiſtance is likely to be given them from France. The Britiſh adherents in America will ſpare no pains to ſpread and increaſe that diſappointment, by diſcouraging repreſentations; they already intimate that France, equally hoſtile to both parties, foments the preſent war, only to make them mutually inſtrumental in each others' deſtruction.

"Should Great Britain, by theſe and other means, detach the colonies, and re-unite them to herſelf, France will irrecoverably loſe the moſt favourable opportunity ever offered to any nation, of humbling a powerful, arrogant, and hereditary enemy; an opportunity which no human wiſdom could have produced, and which the moſt zealous of her patriots could ſcarcely have hoped for.

"But it is not ſimply the opportunity of reducing Great Britain which France will loſe by her preſent inactivity; for her own ſafety, and that of all her American poſſeſſions, will be endangered the moment in which a reconciliation takes place between Britain and America.

"The King and miniſtry of Great Britain know and feel that France has encouraged and aſſiſted the coloniſts in their *preſent reſiſtance*; and they are as much incenſed againſt her,

her, as they would be were ſhe openly to declare war. In truth, France has done too much, unleſs ſhe intends to do more. Without giving the coloniſts effectual aſſiſtance, it would have been better to have left them wholly unaſſiſted. The Britiſh nation, naturally inimical to the French, is anxious for peace with America, that ſhe may turn her arms againſt this kingdom; and at once gratify her revenge and her avarice. This is now the general language of the people, and of the leaders of the oppoſition. But any one, who reflects upon the preceding obſervations, cannot doubt but that whenever peace with America is obtained by Great Britain (whatever may be the conditions of it) the whole Britiſh force now on the continent of America will be ſuddenly tranſported to the Weſt-Indies, and employed in ſubduing the French ſugar-iſlands there, to recompenſe the loſſes and expences which Great Britain has ſuffered and incurred in this war, and to revenge the inſult and injury France has done her, by the encouragement and aſſiſtance which ſhe is ſuppoſed to have ſecretly given the coloniſts againſt Great Britain."

This memorial was preſented about the middle of Auguſt. It had no effect; but, on the contrary, as the French miniſters ſaw that the diſtreſſes and apprehenſions, which the Americans felt, began to preſs hard upon them, they took that occaſion (profiting by their diſtreſs) to try to drive a hard and inequitable bargain with them, on the ground of their neceſſities. Inſtead of aſſiſting them, they rather added to their apprehenſions, by ſeeming diſpoſed to give up their ſupport. When the account of General Burgoyne's advance, and of his taking Ticonderoga arrived in France; when the Americans had almoſt loſt all hopes; the French wiſhed to ſee them driven to deſpair. They reaſoned, that, from neceſſity, the Americans muſt ſurrender their intereſts into their hands without conditions. On this occaſion all negotiation with France was at a ſtand; and mutual reproaches ariſing, had almoſt driven matters to an open breach betwixt the commiſſioners and the French miniſtry. The commiſſioners wrote to the Congreſs, ſtating their ſituation. *Here, Sir, was a moment that Providence ſeemed to offer to the good fortune of this country.* In this moment, communications of this ſtate of things came to a very private and very inconſiderable individual; they were made to me, with direct explanations, that the Americans were willing to open a treaty with this country, for reconciliation and re-eſtabliſhment of peace; and that although the acknowledgment

of their independency was a *cauſa ſine quâ non*, yet on that point, and on all ſuch points, with which the affairs of America and this country were entangled, they would do every thing to ſave the honour of their parent country. In what I now diſcloſe I betray no confidencies; I diſcover no man's ſecrets; I am authoriſed and at liberty for all I ſay. The overture was made by communication of a letter, with explanations thereupon. The letter was dated Paris, 11th September, 1777. It repreſented, that "The French miniſtry ſtill kept them [the American commiſſioners] by their conduct, in a very perplexing ſtate of uncertainty; for although they continued to afford very conſiderable aſſiſtance, yet their caution to avoid a war with England ſeemed to be redoubled. That if the Americans urged them upon the ſubject, they ſhrugged up their ſhoulders, and ſaid, the Newfoundland ſhips and the Spaniſh galleons were not yet arrived. The Americans ſaw that the Congreſs would undoubtedly be much diſguſted at this conduct; and ſuggeſted in the letter, that if the Engliſh miniſters had wiſdom enough immediately to acknowledge the independence of America, there was good reaſon to think that ſuch a treaty might be made with her, as would put Great Britain in a happier and more flouriſhing ſituation, than ſhe could poſſibly arrive at by purſuing any other conduct; and as to the mere point of honour, America, they ſaid, confidently, would help them out in that matter. This opportunity, however, they feared would be irretrievably loſt in a ſhort time; as it was natural to think that General Burgoyne's temporary ſucceſs would probably rekindle the frenzy which had begun to abate in England; the event, therefore, ſeen in this view, might be conſidered as equally unfortunate to both countries."

Overtures of ſuch a nature coming thus to me, an unconnected individual, who had no communications with miniſters, as ſuch, nor any right to ſuch communications, what was I to do, or not to do? I decided, in the moment, that the ſuppreſſion of ſuch an important communication would have been criminal to my country. And yet, Sir, as I would neither commit myſelf to any individual, nor be ſo unjuſt as to commit any perſon in employment by ſuch a communication, I did not communicate with the miniſter; I did communicate this matter where I thought it moſt proper ſo to do; and by means of which *I knew I ſhould have an authentic anſwer.* I ſaid, that communications had come to me, by which I knew poſitively that there was now, in the *preſent* moment, an opportunity of opening a treaty with the

the Americans; but that an acknowledgment of their independency was a *cauſa ſine quâ non*. I explained, however, that every method to ſave the honour of the mother country, which could be deviſed or propoſed in the points and forms of buſineſs, would be adopted and accepted, ſo as to cover appearances; and even to aid miniſters in the execution. Thus far I went in what I communicated; and ſaid I was ready to go into a full explanation of the whole; but would make that only to cabinet council. *I had my anſwer, that the ground was inadmiſſible in the firſt inſtance.* And there this matter dropped; and this one opportunity (ſuch as can never happen twice) was loſt for ever.

After this, in the latter end of September or beginning of October (ſo my information ſays; but I will not be poſitive as to the preciſe period) the American commiſſioners renewed their negotiations with the French miniſtry on a new line of treaty. They formed and communicated a project of a treaty, conſiſting of ſeveral articles, reſpecting commerce, and the neceſſary ſupport and protection of it, if entered into. Several of theſe articles, I think eight or nine, were accorded to [in November] as a kind of ſtipulation, or convention; but with conditions annexed, to be reciprocally expected from the Americans. This therefore ſtood *ad referendum*. Several copies of this *project in convention* were, in the latter end of December, by different ſhips, ſent to America; and in this ſtate this matter remained before Chriſtmas. May I be permitted here to refer myſelf to the Houſe, and to aſk, whether, after I had ſeen the Americans, through extreme pique at the conduct of the French towards them, and in deſpair of their own affairs, almoſt of the further exiſtence of their cauſe; coming to England, and wiſhing once more to treat: yet when under circumſtances by which they were reduced to the loweſt ebb; when they had loſt all hope in their own reſources; when they deſpaired of any aſſiſtance from abroad; ſtill refuſing even to have propoſitions made towards the opening a treaty, unleſs on the ground of their independency; and when afterward I had known that they and the French had convened in articles and ſtipulations for commerce, which totally ſuperſeded our act of navigation; whether I had not ground for ſaying what I did before Chriſtmas, when I firſt announced to this Houſe, and perhaps to the country, *that our ſupremacy over America was gone for ever*; *and that our navigation act was aboliſhed and abrogated?* And as to the particular ſtate of the negotiations, had I not ground to ſay that they remained as a convention

on a project of a treaty ſent to America, but not ſigned, preciſely as I ſtated it? I wiſh the fact had been attended to, and acted upon, at the time. It was perhaps even then not too late.

Although the French had continued thus to train on the Americans, and refuſed to ſign any treaty; yet in the moment that the noble Lord [Lord North] brought forward, in this Houſe, his idea of reconciliation between Great Britain and America; and that the French ſaw it was ſuch as might be made the baſis of a reconciliation; they immediately ſent to the American commiſſioners, and at once told them, they were ready to make and ſign an actual treaty with them, on the ground of the project which had been propoſed. This is the treaty referred to in that paper which the French miniſter delivered to his Majeſty's Secretary of State. This treaty, preceded by ſuch conduct as the French held towards the Americans, before they ſaw that they had drawn themſelves into the neceſſity of ſigning it; this treaty, into which the French have been precipitated before they really intended; does not alter my idea of the probability of our having *even yet peace with America, if we will but take the way that leads to it, and the only one that is open.* Nothing but the perverſeneſs of our own conduct can croſs it. We know that the Americans are, and muſt be independent; and yet we will not treat with them as ſuch. We acknowledge it in our own acts, and act and enact under the influence of this idea; and yet we are not to recogniſe it in the only place where it can be of uſe, and where the criſis of our affairs demands it. So far as the meaſure of reconciliation has its baſis in the acts which are paſſed, the legiſlature of this country has actually and indeed (however we may cover our ſhame in words) given up all right of government over the Americans. If government itſelf retains the leaſt idea of ſovereignty, it has already gone too far for that; if it entertains the leaſt hope of peace, I ſay it has not gone far enough; and every ſtep we ſhall take to put the Americans back from independency, will convince them the more of the neceſſity of going forward.

Look into the four great acts of their proceedings; ſlow, but in meaſured ſteps; feeling their ground before they ſet their foot on it; yet when once ſet there fixed for ever. Their firſt great act was their DECLARATION OF RIGHTS in 1774. The rights there *declared, claimed, and inſiſted upon*, are incompatible with provincial, and inapplicable

to

to any other than a ſovereign independent government, having all the powers neceſſary thereto within itſelf.

Their next great act of ſtate was the deduction of their reaſons for taking up arms in defence of theſe rights, publiſhed in A MANIFESTO to all the world. Can thoſe reaſons and allegiance ſtand on any ground of agreement? Can they and ſupremacy ſtand any where on the ſame ground?

Their next act was the DECLARATION OF THEIR INDEPENDENCY; not ſuddenly taken up as an ebullition of enthuſiaſm, or in the bitterneſs of paſſion and revenge; but rather as coming on of courſe, by a train of events, linked together by a ſyſtem of politics. This declaration was not made till two years after the firſt act, and not until July 1776; and not even then, until they were prepared for their next great act, their act of confederation.

After having *renounced their allegiance to the crown of Great Britain*, and all political connexion with the nation; each province (thus become an independent community) formed and eſtabliſhed (as an original act and compact of the people) their reſpective governments; and theſe, thus formed by a mutual and indiſſoluble ACT OF CONFEDERATION, have eſtabliſhed a great republican empire; which, by principles of nature, and not of politics, neceſſarily ſprung up from the ground whereon their affairs ſtood.

If theſe people, when they viewed their cauſe abandoned, as to all aſſiſtance which they looked to in Europe; when ſinking, as to all appearance of what the utmoſt exertions of their own reſources had done; when clouded with deſpair; would not give up the ground of independence, on which they were determined to ſtand; what hopes can there be, and from what quarter, that they will now, when every event of fate and fortune is reverſed to us, and turned in their favour; when they feel their own power able to reſiſt, to counteract, and, in one deplorable inſtance, ſuperior to and victorious over ours; when they ſee their cauſe taken up in Europe; when they find the nations, amongſt which they have taken their equal ſtation, acknowledging their independency, and concluding treaties with them as ſuch; when France has actually and avowedly done it; when it is known that Spain muſt follow, and that Holland will—what hopes can there be, and from what quarter, that they will, all at once, pull down their own new governments, to receive our provincial ones? That they will diſſolve their confederation? That they will diſavow all their reaſons for taking up arms? And give up

all thoſe rights which they have declared, claimed, and inſiſted upon, in order to receive ſuch others at our hands, as ſupremacy on one hand will, and dependency on the other, can admit them to? It is nonſenſe, not even to be liſtened to! And as to that ſilly ſtory of their having been willing to reſcind their vote of independency, it has not even ground to ſet its foot upon. If they give up their independency, they *muſt reſcind their whole ſyſtem*, contained in the four great acts of ſtate. That there was a period, in laſt autumn, when they deliberated whether they ſhould wave the ground of independency, in order to get on the ground of treaty, is true; but the propoſition itſelf went no farther than that; nor was that propoſition adopted.

Although I am certain, and I think every one muſt ſee, that we ſhall never conclude any peace, or come to any ſettlement with the Americans, but by treaty with them as independent ſtates; yet I do not think that Parliament ſhould immediately declare them independent. What I mean and wiſh to urge is, that Parliament ſhould extend the powers of the commiſſioners, to the enabling them to treat, conſult, and *finally to agree, and* acknowledge the Americans as independent; *on condition*, and in the moment, that they will, as ſuch, *form a fœderal treaty, offenſive and defenſive and commercial, with us.* If the commiſſioners are not ſo empowered, they had better never go; their going will be a mockery, and end in diſgrace. I ſay not theſe things to embarraſs the buſineſs of the commiſſion; on the contrary, I wiſh to give efficiency thereto, and to make plain the way of the commiſſioners. I hope nobody in the Houſe will think I am acting this part, as though I was to be one of them. I moſt certainly ſhall not be one of them; yet I wiſh the buſineſs to have a good iſſue. Such we may have; we may have peace with America, if we will but once quit the ground of theory, and take that which lies open before us in fact.

Although the French, in order to take advantage of that time which we have loſt, have, on a ſudden ſtart, ſigned a treaty with the American commiſſioners at Paris; it is not however yet ratified by the Congreſs in America. And if we do not loſe more time, we may yet be in America with our propoſitions before it is ratified. If we do get there in time, and our propoſitions are ſuch as I have ſuggeſted, ſuch as come up to the point which the preſent criſis demands, I have every confidence, that we ſhall find in the Americans a preference and a predilection in favour of their

old

old connexions. Beſide this, if every other part of the ground be taken equal, it will be more their intereſt to form commercial connexions with us, than with the French; at leaſt, to have (at the ſame time) ſuch with us as they have with the French. In all the maritime towns of America, commerce is diffuſed at large; almoſt every man that keeps a ſtore is a merchant; but of theſe, not five, I believe ſcarce one, in a hundred, underſtands one word of the French language. How are theſe then to carry on this French commerce? It muſt fall into the hands of the few who accidentally underſtand this language. The underſtanding French, not the having a capital; the having had French, not the having had commercial connexions, muſt become the requiſite qualification of a merchant. The many (if this matter comes to be conſidered in any of theſe towns) will ſay to the few: All this is mighty well for you, gentlemen; but it will not do for us; we can have nothing to ſay to propoſitions which muſt be impracticable to us. This, I ſay, will be the caſe, if we admit their independency; but if we do not, the great intereſt of the ſtates will not give way to the private advantages of this or that ſet of merchants; and every other conſideration will vaniſh before their zeal for independency, which they have fought their way up to, and will maintain.

Although I may appear perhaps to ſome to have made a long digreſſion; yet I hope I have brought it to the point under conſideration, and have ſhewn, that if we will take our meaſures according to the actual circumſtances of our ſituation, which, I ſay, are not altered by the invidious conduct of the French, we ſtill may have peace with America. The conduct of the French is a ſtill ſtronger and additional reaſon why we ought to adopt this ſyſtem: and every thing which has relation to our ſafety, honour, and even perhaps exiſtence, requires that it ſhould be adopted on the inſtant, directly, without loſing one moment, or hazarding the caſt of one ſingle event; a hazard which is not within the rules of inſurance to calculate.

If you do not adopt this idea of a foederal treaty with an independent nation, let us ſee how the treaty will commence. The Americans will, before they begin any converſation towards treaty, demand, 1ſt, That the commiſſioners withdraw the troops. 2d, That they open the treaty as taking an equal ſtation with the Americans, as one ſovereign ſtate with another. 3d, That they engage to reim-

burſe them the expence which we have put them to; and to ſecure to them *dedomagement* for the loſſes which they have ſuffered. They know that we are not in circumſtances to make either this reimburſement or *dedomagement* by actual payment of money; they will therefore propoſe that the commiſſioners engage to give up to them Canada, Nova Scotia, and the Newfoundland fiſhery, in lieu thereof; and this they will inſiſt upon. This I know, and this I affirm. Now what anſwer can any of the commiſſioners deviſe to give to theſe demands? If they treat with the Americans as with revolted ſubjects whom they wiſh to reclaim, and whoſe peace they muſt purchaſe at any rate, they muſt either riſque all peace in the very threſhold, or agree to theſe ceſſions. On the contrary, the acknowledging the Americans as independent ſtates debarraſſes this buſineſs of all ſuch difficulties; for what claim of any ſuch ſort can any independent ſtate with whom you are at war ever have? Had any nation ever ſuch? And did any ever make ſuch? It is not only become neceſſary to our ſituation, and the ſtate of things, that we ſhould acknowledge in politics what does actually exiſt in event; but, *rebus ſic ſtantibus*, it is become the wiſeſt and moſt politic meaſure that Great Britain, reſpecting herſelf, can now take. Her act of navigation, which I muſt always diſtinguiſh from the acts of trade, which is an act to encourage Britiſh ſeamen and ſhipping, will then give to Britiſh ſeamen and ſhipping thoſe preferences and advantages which the American ſeamen and ſhipping have now the ſole profit of; and ſhe will not loſe, in the profits of her own trade, more than ſhe now incurs expence in protecting that of America. If this was the proper time for ſuch diſcuſſion, I could ſhew this to demonſtration throughout the whole ſyſtem. If I could entertain an idea that any man in this Houſe hoped to regain the dependency of America, I would ſhew what that dependency would be. It is enough now to ſay that it would be a deluſive and a ruinous one to the intereſt of this country; and that the ſupremacy would become dangerous to the conſtitution of it. It is enough, perhaps too much, to have ſaid and ſtated what I have done. I only throw it out to try the ſenſe of the Houſe. If they ſhould ſo ſee their intereſt, as to think this meaſure a proper one, I ſhould be ready to explain the whole, and to move it; nay, I am even ready now. I have a motion to that purpoſe in my pocket: but it is too much to be riſqued haſtily. The only uſe therefore that I wiſh to

make

make of the doctrine I have held is, to convince the Houſe, that the power and intereſt of this country is yet on ſafe and good ground, if we have the wiſdom to take it; if we do not, it matters little what change we make of our miniſters, or what commiſſions or commiſſioners we ſend to America. If we do adopt it, the meaſure will execute itſelf; and it ſignifies very little what miniſters we keep, or whether there be any at all. Some gentlemen, I ſee, laugh. I remember the time, and a very critical one too, in the laſt war, in actual time of war, when for ſeveral days there was no miniſter in this country. When, in the year 1756, I came over from America, with the plan and propoſal of changing the object of the war, by making a direct attack on Canada, commenced by the ſiege of Quebec, I was in town for ſeveral days, without any body being able to tell me to whom I was to addreſs myſelf. Mr. Fox was juſt then gone out, and no ſucceſſor was as yet fixed upon. At laſt I had the pleaſure to find that Mr. Pitt became the miniſter: and from that happy moment commenced the æra of all the ſucceſſes and glories of the laſt war. Now, here, if an individual may be permitted to expreſs his private wiſh; and I think one may; at leaſt, I will venture to hazard it; I ſhould wiſh that the preſent miniſters would adviſe his Majeſty to take that ſame great man, now Lord Chatham, to his councils, and to their aid; and that they would, as the miniſtry of the former reign did, lend him their majority. In the moment in which it was known that he had a lead in the councils, and the direction of the forces of this country, in that moment we ſhould have peace in America, and ſhould lower the haughty creſt of France.

Thus much as to the ſtate of our negotiations with America. In my opinion, the ſtate of the French negotiation does not make any alteration in them. We never could have obtained peace without acknowledging the American independency; we never could have obtained any excluſive terms of commerce. The French treaty is not excluſive; and the ground is now open to us, if we are not too proud to tread upon it. If we loſe no more time, we may now have juſt as good terms as we could before have had. And whether we do it at firſt or laſt, with a good grace or grudgingly and of neceſſity, the event will be the ſame; we muſt finally acknowledge the independency of the free ſtates. On the other hand, there is rather an advantage to be derived from this French notice; it may oblige miniſters to think on the

meaſures, and may juſtify them in adopting ſuch. Although it might have been wiſdom, prudence, and good policy, to have taken up, of their own motion, this meaſure; yet, perhaps they would not have been ſo well juſtified in it, as they will now be.

As to the apprehenſions and fears, almoſt to the deſpairing of our ſafety, which my honourable friend has expreſſed; I own I do not feel theſe fears; and, with the leave of the Houſe, I will tell him the reaſon. I ſhall ſay nothing to the ſtate of our force or defence in Europe; I will ſpeak only to that part which it was once my buſineſs to underſtand. The ſhare I had laſt war in the plans, as well as execution, of the meaſures in America, give me ſome right to ſpeak with confidence; and I ſhall ſpeak out without reſerve. Thoſe who never knew, or thoſe who have forgotten my ſervices, may ſee all that I ſay, and perhaps more, juſtified, by referring to the Secretary of State's office, or the Board of Trade.

Having loſt thoſe provinces which experience hath ſhewn we could neither govern, nor ſubdue, nor conſequently maintain, ourſelves in *by the ſyſtem we had adopted*; I think, inſtead of being weaker, we may become the ſtronger by the event. If we take ſuch part of the troops as we have now in America, and ſo place them in Canada and Nova Scotia as to put thoſe provinces out of inſult, at leaſt, out of danger, we may certainly ſecure that point; and there can be no excuſe if we do not do it. We ſhall be able to maintain ourſelves in thoſe parts of the dominion which we do poſſeſs, and can govern. The reſt of the troops there, which are now employed to no effect, and to no end, may be ſo much additional effective ſtrength, which may be employed either offenſively in the Weſt-Indies, or brought home for our defence here. The having loſt the provinces on the continent, will become a more urgent motive to keep good guard over thoſe of the iſles. The miniſters now will have it in their power to ſend a proper defence to the WeſtIndies; and they will become the ſafer by our loſſes in other parts.

The great fleet, which ſeems at preſent totally uſeleſs, and unemployed, may be ſo diſpoſed, that part of it may be ſtationed to cover and defend the ſea-line of our provinces, Nova Scotia and Canada, and the fiſheries; another too may be ſent to ſtrengthen our ſquadrons in the Weſt-Indies; while a third part ſhould be formed in a ſquadron, conſiſting of frigates, ſloops of war, and armed veſſels, and

ſtationed

ſtationed about the Bahamas, ſo as to command and protect the *debouchée* of our Weſt-India navigation; with orders to join either the North-American or Weſt-India ſquadron, as the caſe may require. I ſay, Sir, *taking up and concluding our American negotiations wiſely*; allowing facts to be facts; and concluding a peace with the Americans as independent ſtates; and then *diſpoſing of our fleets and armies* in America in ſome ſuch arrangement as I have mentioned; we ſhall not only be out of all fear of the French, but we ſhall begin to find that we have a more collected, ſtronger, and effective force, than ever we could have had under our former circumſtances, and *under our former ſyſtem of adminiſtering them.*

In this confidence, therefore, paſſing by all idea of who are, or who ſhould be, our miniſters, which I am totally againſt mixing in this day's buſineſs; I am for the addreſs propoſed, in every ſenſe and feeling of the reſentment it expreſſes.

Mr. *Conolly* ſaid, he got up to ſtate the dangerous and defenceleſs ſtate of Ireland; and called upon the Houſe to give their attention to that injured but yet faithful country. That when he ſpoke of the fidelity and loyalty of that country, and of its attachment to Great Britain, he muſt confine himſelf chiefly to the Proteſtants there; but that theſe Proteſtants, without aſſiſtance from hence, were ſo far from being able to give aid to this country, that perhaps they were not able to defend themſelves. That upon a late very exact numeration of the people in Ireland there were found to be 2,120,231; of which the Proteſtants were 677,804. That theſe Proteſtants were chiefly in the northern parts of Ireland. That in the ſouthern provinces, ſhould the French land any force that looked like being ſerious, or could be depended upon, there were at leaſt 150,000 ready to join them.

Mr. *Melliſh.* I muſt declare myſelf under an anxiety I never before have felt; ignorant of our real ſituation, ignorant of miniſterial information, but determined to give my opinion on his Majeſty's meſſage according to the information before me. I little expected to have ſeen the time when this Houſe would have tamely ſubmitted to the inſolence of the Houſe of Bourbon. Sir, this is a declaration of war, intended as ſuch, and ought to be anſwered by us in the ſame ſtile. The addreſs moved by the noble Lord appears to me to be framed in the office of a ſecretary of ſtate, and not in that of the miniſter. It ſeems calculated

for negotiation, where France intended no negotiation; and, conſequently, where we ſhould give a formal defiance to this inſult. He then he argued much on the weakneſs of France; ſaid, that we could borrow the principal ſum where they could get only the intereſt: in ſhort, that we could raiſe ſix millions, where all the accuracy even of French financiering cou'd ſcarce get 330 000 from the people. That the nobility and gentry not in the army were againſt the war; the people deteſted it; and none but the army wiſhed it. That their army, though great and reſpectable, had their enemies; perhaps Bavaria alone might employ them. That their navy made more figure on paper than at ſea; and he did not doubt we ſhould give as good an account of them as we had formerly done. That as to America, he remembered what a learned gentleman had obſerved ſome years ago, that there never was a revolution in which one-fifth of the people were engaged; that the American army might have ſilenced the opinions of the more quiet men; but it was by no means a proof that we had no friends in America; and that he did not doubt, when the bills giving up taxation, and repealing the charter-bill, and the tea-duty, reached them, we ſhould have more, and ſtill more when the inhabitants found their governors were giving them up to France. That he never called Americans cowards; nor did he ever think them ſo; neither did he think them ſo brave as to wiſh to encounter unneceſſary difficulties. That all men were equally brave, in proportion to their military education; that therefore Americans had one advantage, as a militia, over moſt nations, that they were inſtructed from children in the uſe of the firelock. So far he would allow them brave, but no further. That he truſted their ſenſe would ſhew them the advantage of an accommodation with us. That though theſe were his ſentiments he heard with attention and reſpect the ſentiments of others; and therefore when he heard ſome gentlemen propoſe the independency of the colonies, though he differed totally, he ſtill did not ſay it ought not to be a ſubject of argument in the Houſe. But that the Houſe of Bourbon ſhould dare to talk to this nation of the independency of our colonies, was what a Britiſh Houſe of Commons would not formerly have borne. He was therefore diſſatisfied with the motion of the noble Lord, as negotiating, not anſwering the inſult. That, without entering into the queſtion, how far miniſters were or were not capable? he thought it always a dangerous

dangerous experiment to change a miniſtry on the beginning of a war. It was not ſo fatal as a minority on the death of a king; but not much leſs fatal.

Mr Mellish went on. As to the meaſures to be purſued, I do not pretend to adviſe; but I will venture my opinion, that, for our home defence, the militia ſhould be called out, both here and in Ireland. That it ſhould be conſidered whether the army in America could make any deciſive ſtroke; if not, I think it ſhould be drawn off; not for the defence of a Newfoundland fiſhery, Nova Scotia, or our Weſt-India iſlands; but for the attack and ſtorm of the French iſlands; to teach the inſolence of France what muſt ever be the conſequence if they dared to affront either the Britiſh flag or the Britiſh arms.

Mr. *Pitt* mentioned and lamented the baneful influence which had for a long time pervaded, and ſtill continued to prevail over the councils of this great country.

Mr. *Jenkinſon*. However fate may have diſpoſed the events of this war, it is on the ground, and in the principles by which it became neceſſary, *a juſt war*. There never was, on the moſt popular plan of government, a doubt, but that every part of the ſtate ſhould bear its ſhare of the burthen of the ſtate as it ſhared in the protection. Although the Americans did not deny this, yet, when they inſiſted that they ought not to pay any taxes towards the ſupport of government but what they paid in they profits which we derived from the monopoly of their commerce, they did abſolutely refuſe to pay in the way of tax or contribution; when this ground failed them, and they took the uſe of reaſoning that this government had no right to tax them for thoſe purpoſes, and put their reſiſtance on ground that diſputed and denied the ſovereignty of the crown, and the ſupremacy of the whole government, and ſet themſelves in array to oppoſe thoſe legal methods by which government had a right to enforce its authority and laws; then they went into a direct rebellion, and this war, on the part of this country, *was a juſt war*. When the country which felt itſelf almoſt ſinking under the burthen of taxes which lay upon it, found thoſe Americans (in bringing up of whom, and in the protection of whom, they had in two ſucceſſive wars incurred ſuch enormous expences, as our taxes, heavy as they were, would ſcarcely pay the intereſt of) would not only not pay any thing in aid, but moſt ungratefully denied that we had done any thing on their account, or that they had any obligation to us for what we had done: that they now diſdained our protection, and even refuſed to give

quarter

quarter or ſhelter to the troops that the King ſent there for their protection, and the maintenance of his dominions; that they refuſed all intercourſe with us; prohibited our commerce, and finally plundered our merchants acting under our laws, and not contrary to any which they pretended to have.

Then the apprehenſion of the merchant was firſt alarmed; then the manufacturer was at laſt, though ſlowly, provoked. The country would no longer ſit tamely to bear the inſult; all degrees of people aroſe in one unanimous reſentment, and *the war became a popular war*; and therefore, Sir, I ſay this war with America *was a juſt, and has been a popular war*. Why it has not been a ſucceſsful one, I will not now take upon me to ſay.

The want of ſucceſs, and the length of its continuance, have at laſt brought upon us the inſults and meditated attacks of our enemies, the French, who are become their allies. And it ſeems as if it was the duty of a good man, who loves his country, to paint our affairs (become thus indeed perplexed) as though they were deſperate, and that we had not even the means of defence left to reſiſt any attack which the enemy might make upon us here at our own doors. The force that we have in Britain has been repreſented as nothing. Now, Sir, I may venture to affirm, on certain authority, that, excluſive of officers and ſerjeants, we have now in Britain ſeventeen thouſand three hundred effective men, rank and file. As to the ſtate of our funds, the fall is not ſo great as the means uſed by our enemies abroad, and our intereſted enemies at home, to ſink them, ought to have made them. The time was critical and perilous. There was a call in more countries than ours for money on loan: greater calls were ſtill expected: the very paper on your table would not have been preſented at this very moment, had it not been the moment in which the French politicians and their adviſers thought it would moſt affect the preſent loan. Inſtead of that effect (by its not having affected it ſo much as they, and thoſe who knew more of the matter than they, expected) it has ſhewn the relative ſtrength of our credit. The loan has even roſe to-day; and I underſtand the firſt payment will be made.

But, Sir, credit, which is nothing but opinion, muſt, from its nature, be eſtimated as relative, having no abſolute baſis but truſt. The queſtion is not, whether I ſhall truſt or not, but whom I had beſt truſt. In this view of it, which is the real one, all the monied world had rather truſt Great Britain than any other power whatſoever. While intereſted and party people decry our credit, look at that of France. The

French

French could not borrow above 1,000,000*l.* and that loan is now twenty *per cent.* under par.

France, even in time of peace, has not been able to go on, upon her peace eſtabliſhment; and yet, under theſe circumſtances, ſhe has a marine to raiſe and form.

In ſhort, Sir, to ſpeak out, it is not our credit alone, it is not the French credit, ſo much more than ours, that is ſinking. This phantom of credit, whoſe whole foundation is truſt and opini n, and which, by a mutual concurrence of that opinion and truſt, has created funds, and become as money to the great trading maritime powers of Europe for ſo long a time, has now at laſt almoſt ſpent itſelf in its operation; and the great politicians of the world begin to look only to real force, ſupplied with real money; while the efficiency of the great maritime powers who have made their exertions on credit is every where at the higheſt pitch to which it can go, and will every day decline.

The great military powers in the interior parts of Europe, who have amaſſed together great treaſures, and have modelled their ſubjects into great armies, will in the next and ſucceeding period of time become the predominant powers.

France and Great Britain, which have been the firſt and ſecond-rate powers of the European world, will perhaps for the future be but of the third and fourth rate.

But it is not in the ſinking of credit only that France is diſtreſſed: the ſpirit of free inquiry, and the effects of an extended commerce, have introduced a ſpirit amongſt the French people that is wholly incompatible with their government. Contrary to all precedent, contrary to all ideas of that government, a reaſoning has propagated, and even entered into ſome of the lines of buſineſs, that the *vingtieme* is a *donne gratuite*, and that every individual has a right to judge of it.

Beſides this, one bad effect of the zeal with which they affected to take up the American cauſe, and which they now learn in earneſt to have an affection for, has tainted their principles with the ſpirit of republicaniſm.

Theſe principles of liberty always diminiſh the force of government; and if they take root and grow up in France, we ſhall ſee that government as diſtracted and unſettled as any other. I do not therefore think we have much to fear from France. We may repoſe ourſelves on the ſuperior credit and actual ſtrength of our own government, and ought not to ſuffer any inſult to go unreſented.

General *Conway* began, by expreſſing the reſentment he felt, as a Briton, at the treatment we had received from France, by that paper; and was ſorry to ſee the ſtate of

humiliation

humiliation this country muſt be in, that any nation had dared to conceive the idea of delivering ſuch an inſult; an idea of the danger that had been expreſſed we were in from an invaſion, and defenceleſs ſtate to repel any ſuch. On that ground, he ſaid, he did not adopt the fears people had expreſſed, nor did he ſee the caſe ſo dangerous as people had repreſented. He owned that Ireland was in a defenceleſs ſtate; but that he thought impoſſible for miniſters to ſee, and not take immediate care to provide a remedy. As to England, he had not the ſame apprehenſions; for that we had, including the militia, thirty-three thouſand troops with which we could take the field. Beſides which, he hoped, and did not doubt, but that, when our country was invaded, our rights and liberties attacked, every individual in the country would ſhew the ſame ſpirit that the Americans had done: and he thought that a pretty ſtrong example, and proof in fact, how impracticable a thing it was to invade a free country while the ſpirit of liberty remained in it, which he hoped was not yet dead in this country. But though this was his idea reſpecting Great Britain, and an invaſion of it, he did not ſee that we were in any ſituation to carry on ſuch a war as that we were now threatened with.

That what troops we had were moſtly loſt in a ſervice where they could do no good; nor did he ſee how it was poſſible to recruit them to their proper eſtabliſhment, much leſs to reinforce them ſo far as muſt now become neceſſary. That we had no allies to add to our own forces; and in this ſituation the force of the whole Houſe of Bourbon was now united to the power of America. When we look back to the advantages which we derived from that force laſt war, was there a man upon earth who could think it poſſible, now that force was againſt us, that we could ever ſhew our face, or appear upon the ſeas? That our trade muſt be totally undone. That, in ſhort, there remained nothing for us but to try to regain the Americans. There was no other meaſure we could poſſibly take but to immediately adopt the propoſal thrown out by the honourable gentleman at his left hand [Governor Pownall].

That he had proved to demonſtration that there was no other method of having peace with America but acknowledging them to be what they really were, and what they were determined to remain, Independent States, and making a treaty and alliance with them as ſuch. That peace with America was abſolutely neceſſary; and that every other idea of peace

was

was only deceiving ourſelves, and expoſing the public to a hazard that muſt end in diſappointment, if not ruin, to this country. That he thought he ſaw in the Houſe a ſecret conviction of the truth and neceſſity of this propoſition, which he hoped their good ſenſe would ripen into ſome act on the preſent occaſion; for if it did not, the opportunity to be derived of any good from it would be loſt; and we ſhould be at laſt obliged to come into that from neceſſity, which we might now make ſome merit of. That he always thought, as things were ſuffered to go on, that this would be the ground on which we muſt make peace at laſt; and that he had received great comfort from the proofs that the honourable gentleman had given that that ground was ſtill open to us.—And indeed, as a further proof, that gentleman had communicated to him, ſince he ſpoke, a matter that did abſolutely confirm it; which was, that he had ſeen a letter of Doctor Franklin's, ſhewn to him by the perſon to whom it was written, ſince the ſigning the treaty between France and America; wherein he ſaid, that if Great Britain would give up the idea of ſupremacy, and treat with the Americans as Independent States, ſhe might yet have peace with America. If that peace was neceſſary, as every body muſt ſee it was, what had we to do, but immediately to take up the idea that had been ſo fairly and manly thrown out?

Lord *North* repeated his opinion relative to a reſignation of his employments; and as the intereſt of the empire, no leſs than his own pride, required his continuance in office, he was determined not to quit the helm while the ſhip of the ſtate was toſſed about in a ſtorm, until he ſhould have brought her ſafe into port. He could not ſee any great foundation for the preſent alarms of the public: if the ſtocks were now low, it was merely the effect of a ſudden panic, the general concomitant of a dread of war. Since he had come into the Houſe, he had received intelligence that the firſt payment of the ſubſcriptions to the new loans had been made: the ſeeming backwardneſs to fill the loan was to be attributed to the largeneſs of the national debt, rather than to the approach of a war. Great Britain had always been ſo punctual in the payment of intereſt, that ſhe never can want money. The dread of an invaſion was a mere bugbear; and though ſuch a thing ſhould take place, the nation had very little reaſon to be apprehenſive for the conſequences. Our navy never was, at the commencement of a war, in ſuch a flouriſhing condition as it is at preſent; the new levies were almoſt completed,

and

and would, together with old troops at home, form a body of 30,000 men for the defence of the kingdom. That the public might be the more at eaſe with regard to an invaſion, his Majeſty had reſolved to have recourſe to that conſtitutional meaſure ſo often recommended by gentlemen on the other ſide of the Houſe, and which, he hoped, would be ſufficient to ſilence all our fears, and ſet our minds at reſt: the object the King had in view was to call out and embody the militia; which, he flattered himſelf, would be able, in conjunction with the regulars, ſo to guard the coaſts, as to make an invaſion a matter of too much difficulty to be attempted by our enemies. The inſult offered by France to this nation was of the moſt diſgraceful nature; his Majeſty, in reſentment, had recalled Lord Stormont, his ambaſſador at Verſailles; and as he knew that the honour of the nation was dear to every gentleman in the Houſe, ſo he truſted that there was not a man in it who would not riſque his life and fortune to wipe off the ſtain that it had received; and that conſequently no one would refuſe to agree to an addreſs, which was to aſſure the King, that he ſhould find in his faithful Commons every ſupport neceſſary to maintain the honour of his people, and the dignity of his crown.

Colonel *Barré* ſaid, if Lord North had been a penſioner of France, he could not have acted more in the French intereſt than he had done. And here he recapitulated the ſeveral acts brought in by his Lordſhip againſt the Americans. Each miniſter, he ſaid, had been guilty in his different department, but the noble Lord had been guilty in all.

Governor *Johnſtone* obſerved, that he always had been, and ſtill was, againſt the independence of America. He always ſaw it in the light of imaginations and viſions, which gentlemen here were pleaſed to amuſe themſelves with. It was not the idea of America herſelf. He ſaid he was extremely ſorry to ſee the idea adopted here by gentlemen with whom he had acted; that if he found he had been acting with gentlemen who were ready to give up the ſupremacy of this country over America, and to acknowledge the independency of America, he would ſooner croſs the floor, and join thoſe miniſters, whoſe meaſures, in beginning and conducting this war, he had always diſapproved, than continue to act with thoſe gentlemen who were entailing ruin upon this country.

Mr. *Dundas* [Lord Advocate] ſaid, if there was no other help for it, and nothing elſe could be done, he ſhould rather

wiſh

wiſh for the propoſition thrown out by the honourable gentleman [Governor Pownal] of forming a fœderal union, than loſing America totally, or letting her fall into the hands of France. He did not chuſe to part with America as an enemy. But as that time, he thought, was not yet come, every meaſure ſhould be tried firſt; and if it was unavoidable, we could but acquieſce in what we could not prevent.

Sir *George Yonge* ſaid, Very well! you mean to come to that at laſt; and you now let us ſee you mean it.

Mr. *Aubrey* ſaid, that ſince the noble Lord in the blue ribband had ſo ſtrongly expreſſed his deſire of retiring, which, it ſeemed, the dread alone of his ſucceſſor's cauſing confuſion in the ſtate prevented him from, he begged leave to remind his Lordſhip, that there was one great ſtateſman, at leaſt, who had neither forced the cabinet, nor ever ſcrambled for a place (according to the learned gentleman's [the Lord Advocate's] expreſſions) but who had once already conducted our public affairs with the perfect unanimity of the two Houſes of Parliament, as well as with that of the nation at large. That he did not now mean to arraign the conduct of the noble Lord [Lord North], who muſt, however, allow him to ſay that his adminiſtration had been at leaſt unfortunate. That he and his friends had had the management of the American war for three years; which had produced nothing but a ſeries of diſappointments and diſaſters; plainly ſhewing them not to be a match for America alone. How then would they reſiſt the power of France, added to that of America? That war, under thoſe circumſtances, would be a ſtate of deſpair. That, therefore, at ſo alarming and critical a moment as the preſent, he could not help imploring the interpoſition of the noble Earl he had alluded to; though he was far from conſidering him as the only ſupport this country had left; becauſe he knew there were yet thoſe men in it, who, by their known abilities, integrity, and principles of liberty, both deſerved and poſſeſſed the good opinion and confidence of the public.—That the noble Earl, however, was not only looked up to by this country, but was ſo feared, as well as reſpected, by every foreign court in Europe, that his very name alone, were he in power, would more contribute to put a ſtop to the hoſtile deſigns of the whole Houſe of Bourbon, than all the mighty preparations we had lately heard ſo much boaſted of; or any, that, he feared, the preſent condition of this country was able to make. That to expatiate upon that great character would be needleſs and ſuperfluous; for, in his opinion, the unanimity

we

we enjoyed at home, as well as the glory we obtained abroad, under that noble Earl's adminiſtration, was his beſt. That, as all parties agreed that he had once ſaved the nation from the diſgrace and the ruin of an unſucceſsful war, it ſurely was as reaſonable for us to place our confidence in him, in theſe times of difficulty and danger, as to withhold it from thoſe who had brought us into them.

Lord *Ongley* thought it was improper to ſay about miniſters in the addreſs.

The Houſe divided upon the amendment; for it 113, againſt it 263.

March 18.

Addreſs preſented.

The humble Addreſs of the Houſe of Commons to the King.

Moſt gracious Sovereign,

WE, your Majeſty's moſt dutiful and loyal ſubjects, the Commons of Great Britain, in Parliament aſſembled, return our humble thanks to your Majeſty, for the communication of the paper preſented to the Lord Viſcount Weymouth, by order of the French King; and for acquainting us, that, in conſequence of this offenſive declaration, your Majeſty has thought proper to order your ambaſſador to withdraw from the court of France: and we beg leave to aſſure your Majeſty, that it is with the utmoſt difficulty we can reſtrain the ſtrongeſt expreſſions of the reſentment and indignation which we feel for this unjuſt and unprovoked aggreſſion on the honour of your Majeſty's crown, and the eſſential intereſts of your kingdoms, contrary to the law of nations, and injurious to the rights and poſſeſſions of every ſovereign power in Europe.

The good faith and uprightneſs of your Majeſty's conduct towards foreign powers, and the ſincerity of your intentions to preſerve the general tranquillity, muſt be acknowledged by all the world; and your Majeſty cannot be conſidered as reſponſible for the diſturbance of this tranquillity, if you ſhould find yourſelf called upon to reſiſt the enterprizes of that reſtleſs and dangerous ſpirit of ambition and aggrandiſement, which has ſo often invaded the rights, and threatened the liberties, of Europe.

We ſhould be wanting in our duty to your Majeſty, to our conſtituents, and to ourſelves, if we did not give your Majeſty the ſtrongeſt aſſurances of our moſt zealous aſſiſtance and

and ſupport: and we have the firmeſt confidence, that, in every demonſtration of loyalty to your Majeſty, and of love of their country, your faithful ſubjects will vie with each other; and that no conſiderations will divert or deter them, from ſtanding forth in the public defence, and from ſuſtaining, with a ſteady perſeverance, any extraordinary burthens and expences which ſhall be found neceſſary, for enabling your Majeſty to vindicate the honour of your crown, and to protect the juſt rights and eſſential intereſts of theſe kingdoms.

The King's Anſwer.

Gentlemen,

I RETURN you my hearty thanks, for this very dutiful and affectionate addreſs. I make no doubt, that, aſſiſted by the advice of my Parliament, and ſupported by the ſpirit of my people, I ſhall, under the divine Providence, be enabled to repel every inſult on the honour of my crown, to maintain the rights of my ſubjects, and to defend all my dominions.

March 19.

The Houſe in committee on the ſtate of the nation. The ſubject this day was the expedition from Canada. The Canada papers were read.

Mr. *Fox* ſtated the plan of the expedition as wrong and impracticable; not being directed to any point, nor in any ſenſe the right way. Though the miniſter of the American department [Lord George Germain] might ſay, and he underſtood did ſay, that he took the idea and the plan from General Burgoyne; yet he affirmed the contrary. The plan was not General Burgoyne's; it differed from General Burgoyne's; and wherever it did ſo, it blundered. This expedition was not a plan of diverſion in our favour, but a diverſion againſt ourſelves, by ſeparating that force which ought to have been united to one point, that of diſperſing the rebel army; inſtead of which, it left General Howe too weak, upon the plan the noble Lord ſuggeſted to him; and ſent General Burgoyne, with a ſtill leſſer army, to a place where the enemy were much ſtronger. He ſaid this only for argument, to ſhew that the meaſure was originally wrong in the deſign; and added, that he ſhould move ſomething on this point. But the matter upon which he ſhould make his preſent motion was, that part of the execution which belonged to the miniſter, not to the officers. The principal and ſole deſign of ſending General Burgoyne from Ca-

nada, was that of forcing his way to Albany, and making a junction with General Howe. This was a plan of co-operation, in the execution of which two parties were concerned, but orders were given to only one party; the other party was left ignorant of the deſign. This appeared from the miniſter's letters to the commanders, and from the commanders' letters to each other. It was intending two men to meet at one place, but giving orders to only one to go there; and then blaming the execution, becauſe the other, who did not know he was to go there, did not meet him; but who, on the contrary, had acquainted the perſon with whom the orders lay, that he was going another way. Upon theſe grounds, he inſiſted, that the whole diſconcertion and failure of General Burgoyne's expedition, was owing to either the ignorance or negligence of the ſecretary of ſtate who had the direction of it; by which one of his Majeſty's armies was totally loſt, and in conſequence of that, thirteen provinces were loſt, to the utter ruin of this country. He moved, that the committee would come to three reſolutions, which were, in ſubſtance, That the plan of the Canada expedition had been ill concerted; that, from the meaſures adopted, it was impoſſible it ſhould ſucceed; and that the inſtructions ſent to General Howe, to co-operate with General Burgoyne, had not been ſuch as were neceſſary to inſure ſucceſs to the latter. After which, he ſaid, he ſhould offer another reſolution of cenſure upon the noble Lord [Lord George Germain].

Lord *Nugent* principally ſpoke to the impropriety of the inquiry into the ſtate of the nation; it now appearing, as he had always foretold it would, to involve in it the caſe of abſent men. As a charge was now brought againſt a noble Lord, who was ſecretary of ſtate in the American department, it muſt now be decided upon; otherwiſe he ſhould move for the chairman leaving the chair.

Mr. *Macdonald* ſaid, enough was now brought to ſhew there was blame ſomewhere. It was a fact admitted on both ſides the Houſe. One ſide of the Houſe laid the blame on the noble Lord; and that charge he thought muſt be decided upon. But he begged the committee to recollect, that if it was decided that the blame did not reſt upon the noble Lord, a further inquiry remained to be made, who it did reſt upon.

Mr. *Jolliffe*. The event of the expedition to Canada has not only annihilated the idea of the conqueſt of America, but

but has loſt an army of eight thouſand men; has coſt this country an infinite ſum, and the lives of many thouſands of its beſt ſubjects. It is the blackeſt page in the Engliſh hiſtory; it is a diſgrace which this nation never can recover. But, dreadful as the conſequence of this event is, and may be, much as this country muſt ever deplore a cataſtrophe ſo fatal, and ſincerely as I wiſh the heavieſt vengeance to fall on thoſe who merit it, I think it would ill become the candour which ought to diſtinguiſh this Houſe, it would even be a ſubverſion of juſtice, were we to condemn thoſe who concerted the plan, merely becauſe it has not proved ſucceſsful. The deſign cannot be judged of by the event. It would be an affront to the underſtanding of thoſe who hear, it would be an inſult to common-ſenſe, was I to pretend that I thought the loſs of Burgoyne's army was the effect of chance; or that this country would not minutely inquire, and reſent it. It is impoſſible to conceive 8000 men reduced to the ſituation they are, without great fault in ſome one. It muſt either reſt in thoſe who concerted the plan, in him who had the conduct of it, or in thoſe on whoſe co-operation ſucceſs depended. I could have wiſhed that this inquiry had been deferred; for, indiſputably, it would be the higheſt injuſtice, it would be cruelty in the extreme, to extend your inquiry to the conduct of General Burgoyne. He even knows not of the ſubject of your deliberations. Whether his raſhneſs precipitated this army into deſtruction, or whether his delays produced this unhappy ſurrender, we can come to no reſolution. We ought not to ſuffer ourſelves to form an opinion. To cenſure, or even to queſtion, his conduct, at this time, would be a breach of all the laws of juſtice, by which every man ought to be preſent when he is accuſed. If, Sir, I am unwilling to condemn, or even to ſcrutiniſe, the conduct of General Burgoyne, it becomes me to be no leſs guarded in what I ſay of Sir William Howe. Great guilt may reſt with him; but there being no paper of importance relative to him before us, except the letter of Lord G. Germain of the 18th of May, we muſt be ſilent reſpecting that great officer, until he returns to England. I ſhall therefore only ſubmit to you my ſentiments on the conduct of the noble Lord at the head of the American department; and I hope to demonſtrate, that the loſs of this army can no way be attributed to him; that the plan was not only practicable, but that it was neceſſary for him to adopt it; and that he contributed every thing in his power to enſure ſucceſs.

At the opening of the campaign, in 1777, the attention of the whole nation was taken up by the intended junction of the armies, and thereby cutting off all communication between the northern and ſouthern provinces. Every one approved the meaſure. I am warranted, therefore, in ſaying, that the voice of the whole country concurred with the noble Lord; and had it ſucceeded, there cannot be a doubt of the moſt happy conſequences to this country. Unleſs the rebel army could be brought to a general engagement, ſkirmiſhes might protract the war, at a vaſt expence; and though ſucceſsful, but little forward the concluſion.

The reputation of General Burgoyne, the univerſal opinion of his ſkill and bravery, made him appear to the noble Lord, and to the whole world, as the fitteſt general that could be found for ſuch an expedition. He ſolicited it by his letter 1ſt of January 1777; by No. 9 he ſtates his plan for the campaign. The nation called for it. The General ſolicited the undertaking, and himſelf forms the plan. The noble Lord would have deſerved every degree of cenſure had he impeded, or even if he had not forwarded, the attempt. I have no doubt he thought well of it; but had his opinion been contrary, it would be impoſſible to juſtify his reſiſting the calls of his country, and the ſolicitations of a brave and favourite general. The advantage of croſſing the country was obvious; by this means all communications between the northern and ſouthern provinces would have been prevented. Had General Burgoyne received the expected cooperation, the army under General Waſhington muſt have been reduced to the neceſſity of a general engagement. The advantages being infinite, had the event been ſucceſsful, was not the miniſter warranted in attempting it? Would he not have been condemnable if he had adopted any other? I think, Sir, it cannot be controverted; I think the gentlemen on the other ſide muſt admit that the plan of dividing the northern and ſouthern colonies was practicable; that the nation called for it; and that no other plan would have ſo immediately tended to conclude the war.

Let us now, Sir, inquire whether the ſecretary of ſtate complied with the requiſitions of the general, and, by every means in his power, promoted the ſucceſs of the undertaking.

No complaint having been made that every neceſſary to forward the expedition was not afforded, I might be warranted in concluding that the General was ſupplied with every thing he could wiſh. But yet, let us examine that matter.

General

General Burgoyne, by his thoughts on the war, expreſſes himſelf thus: I conceive the operating army, excluſive of troops left for the ſervice of Canada, ought not to conſiſt of leſs than 8000 regulars, rank and file; the artillery, in the memorandums of General Carleton, a corps of watermen, 2000 Canadians, and a thouſand or more ſavages; the Canadians and ſavages were totally out of the power of the ſecretary of ſtate; and he could only give direction to Sir Guy Carleton to provide them, if poſſible. All that was within the immediate power of the ſecretary of ſtate were the regular troops, and the neceſſaries of the army. By the letter, 28th March, 1777, from Lord George Germain to Sir Guy Carleton, he is required to put 7173 effective men, under the command of General Burgoyne, and 675 under the command of Colonel St. Leger; making together 7848. It was hardly poſſible to be nearer the number; and I defy the moſt determined perſecutor of miniſtry to ſay, this event was owing to the want of 150 men.

By the letter from Lord George to Sir William Howe, 18th May, 1777, he has theſe words: that the King truſts, whatever you meditate may be executed in time to co-operate with the army ordered to proceed from Canada. This is a proof that co-operation was expected by all parties. Could the miniſter do more? Will any man conduct your affairs, if he is to be accountable not only for the expediency, but for the ſucceſs, of every meaſure? A general of the greateſt military ſkill, executing a deſign of his own ſuggeſting, commanding the number of troops he required, ſupplied with every neceſſary his imagination could ſuggeſt, ſupported by a co-operation of the armies, ſo far as the miniſter is concerned (that muſt be ſuppoſed), could there be a fairer proſpect of ſucceſs? Could the miniſter imagine that Sir William Howe would not give his aſſiſtance; or that General Burgoyne, finding himſelf diſappointed in that expectation, would ſtill perſiſt, and not ſecure a retreat? The General ſpeaks of his peremptory orders; they paſſed through Sir Guy Carleton; and expreſs, that General Burgoyne and Colonel St. Leger are to be put under the command of Sir William Howe; and until they receive order from him, they are to act at diſcretion; but they are never to loſe view of their intended junction with Sir William Howe, as their principal object.

They are to act at their diſcretion—Is that peremptory?—They are to have in view their junction with Sir William

Howe; but until that junction is eſtabliſhed, they continue to act as their diſcretion dictates. But, Sir, had the orders been the moſt peremptory that language can convey, they could not have been compulſory, when dangers and difficulties aroſe which could not be foreſeen. Orders are given according to the appearance of things at that time they are iſſued; they ceaſe therefore to be peremptory when affairs totally change. No general would undertake an expedition, unleſs ſomething was left to his diſcretion. Orders muſt be conveyed in general terms; and muſt be applied according to the intention of thoſe who give them: they can be no otherwiſe interpreted, than to regulate that which is inconſiſtent with the general plan, and dangerous in itſelf, and to adopt ſuch a line of conduct as ſhall moſt conduce to the end propoſed. What was the end propoſed by his expedition? By croſſing the country, to produce a junction of the armies. The general's duty, therefore, was to obtain the end. The mind of man cannot furniſh a reaſonable ground to conceive that, at all events, however the face of affairs might change, let what difficulties might ariſe, let a ſituation be ſuppoſed, in which it was impoſſible for his army to eſcape being cut to pieces; yet that he was to proceed at all hazards.—Such an interpretation would have deſtroyed the intent of the expedition; and it is not poſſible to imagine, that the general could conſider himſelf bound to obey ſuch orders, though he had received them from the ſecretary of ſtate. Much more might be ſaid; but I ſhould precipitate myſelf into a condemnation of thoſe I do not wiſh to mention. I am content with having ſhewn the expediency of the meaſure is apparent, the practicability of it obvious, and that the ſecretary of ſtate appears to have done every thing that a miniſter attentive to the duty of his office was able, to enſure its ſucceſs. He appears to me, therefore, to merit the hearty thanks of his country.

Mr. *Dundas* [Lord Advocate] commented on the papers, with a view to ſhew, he ſaid, that the plan was a wiſe one; that it was attended to in the execution with aſſiduity and ability; that it was a plan of junction of co-operation, not a junction of the bodies of the armies; and that the noble Lord had given orders to every officer to attend to that co-operation.

Sir *Richard Sutton* thought the papers did not warrant the committee to agree to the propoſed reſolutions; and therefore they ought to be thrown out.

Mr.

Mr. *Powys* thought there was an impropriety in the meaſure, becauſe General Burgoyne was abſent.

Sir *George Howard* was of the ſame opinion.

Lord *John Cavendiſh* ſaid, it would have been better if General Burgoyne was preſent; but thought there was matter enough in the papers to juſtify the reſolutions.

Mr. *Burke* ſupported Mr. Fox throughout.

Lord *North* ſaid it was proper for him to riſe, though the charge was not perſonal againſt him; yet as nothing was done by the noble Lord, that had not the concurrence of all his Majeſty's miniſters, he muſt conſider himſelf as included; and that it was his duty to take his ſhare in the crime, if any ſuch was proved, and in the cenſure, if any ſuch was paſſed. He ſaid, all proper orders were given for ſuch co-operation of force, wherever it was employed; all tending to the ſame end, though not in the ſame line, nor in lines that communicated with each other.

Colonel *Barré* obſerved, the noble Lord had ſaid nothing to the purpoſe. Thoſe who acknowledge themſelves to be accomplices, and were, of courſe, *particeps criminis*, were the people who took upon themſelves to be advocates.

Mr. *Wedderburne* took the ſame line as the Lord Advocate had done.

Lord *George Germain* followed Lord North exactly.

Mr. *Dunning* ſaid, the noble Lord [Lord George Germain] had promiſed to ſend to General Howe the ſame orders he had given to General Burgoyne. He had neglected to do it. He poſitively aſſerted his Lordſhip never did ſend them.

Mr. *Thurlow* ſaid, he got up to exculpate Lord Weymouth from the ſhare he had, as one of the King's miniſters.

Mr. *Fox* replied, that though that noble Lord was his particular friend, yet he thought his criminality was of another kind. His Lordſhip's ignorance of the treaty between France and America deſerved a cenſure of a much higher nature.

The queſtion was called for, and the Houſe divided; for the reſolutions 44, againſt them 164.

Mr. *Fox*, in great warmth, declared he would not make another motion; and taking the reſolution of cenſure out of his pocket, tore it in pieces, and then went out of the Houſe.

As ſoon as Mr. Fox was gone, Mr. Wedderburne moved, That it does not appear to this committee, that the failure of

the expedition from Canada aroſe from any neglect in the ſecretary of ſtate.

This reſolution was agreed to in the committee; but was never reported to the Houſe.

Adjourned to the 23d.

March 23.

Sir *Grey Cooper* preſented to the Houſe the following paper.

ARTICLES of AGREEMENT, indented, had, made, and concluded, this 20th Day of December, in the 11th year of the reign of our Sovereign Lord George the Third, by the grace of God King of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, and ſo forth, and in the year of our Lord 1770, between the Lords Commiſſioners of his Majeſty's Treaſury, for and on the part and behalf of his Majeſty on the one part, and the Right Honourable Thomas Harley, and Henry Drummond, Eſquire, of the other part.

WHEREAS, upon the 29th day of November, 1768, a contract was made between the then Commiſſioners of his Majeſty's Treaſury, and the ſaid Thomas Harley and John Drummond, Eſquires, for providing ſufficient quantities of money for the ſubſiſtence of his Majeſty's forces in North-America: And whereas the ſaid John Drummond hath deſired, in writing, to be immediately diſcharged from the further ſervice and execution of the ſaid contract, without further notice; and the ſaid Lords Commiſſioners having, on his Majeſty's part, agreed to accept of the ſaid reſignation: it is therefore thought neceſſary, for the ſervice of the public, that a new contract ſhould be entered into with ſome able and fit perſons for performing the ſaid ſervice. And whereas the ſaid Thomas Harley and Henry Drummond are willing and deſirous to take and receive all ſuch ſums of money as ſhall from time to time be iſſued or wanted for the purpoſes aforeſaid; and invert the ſame in purchaſing Spaniſh milled dollars, and other Spaniſh coined ſilver, and Spaniſh or Portugal coined gold, either in England or the colonies, as they ſhall find ſuch ſilver and gold may be purchaſed on the moſt advantageous terms for the ſervice of the public; and to pay over ſuch monies in New York, Nova Scotia, Louiſburgh, Quebec, and Montreal, as the ſame ſhall be wanted for the ſervices of the ſaid forces, and purpoſes aforeſaid.

They

They the ſaid Thomas Harley and Henry Drummond rendering particular and clear accounts, as well of all the profits that may ariſe by their tranſactions, as alſo of all coſts and charges attending the ſame; for all which ſervices and their labour and pains therein, they are to have and receive a clear allowance of one and a half per cent. This indenture therefore witneſſeth, and it is hereby covenanted and agreed, by and between the ſaid Commiſſioners of his Majeſty's Treaſury on the part and behalf of his Majeſty, and the ſaid Thomas Harley and Henry Drummond, in manner and form following: that is to ſay,

They the ſaid Thomas Harley and Henry Drummond, for themſelves, and their heirs, executors, and adminiſtrators, do ſeverally covenant, contract, and agree, to and with the ſaid Commiſſioners of his Majeſty's Treaſury, that they the ſaid Thomas Harley and Henry Drummond, will take and receive all ſuch ſum and ſums of money as ſhall from time to time be iſſued for the pay and ſervice of his Majeſty's troops and forces in America; and ſhall immediately, upon ſuch iſſues, invert the ſame, in the purchaſing, either in England or in the colonies, as may be found moſt for the advantage of the public, Spaniſh milled dollars, and other Spaniſh coined ſilver, and Spaniſh and Portugal coined gold; and will (unavoidable accidents only excepted) pay over and deliver ſuch monies to the reſpective paymaſters, who are or ſhall be appointed to receive the ſame in New York, Nova Scotia, Louiſburgh, Quebec, and Montreal, or in ſuch other places in North America where his Majeſty's ſervices require that a paymaſter be appointed. For which ſaid monies, the ſaid paymaſters are from time to time to give the ſaid contractors proper receipts and acquittances.

And the ſaid Commiſſioners of his Majeſty's Treaſury, for and on the part of his Majeſty, do hereby agree, to and with the ſaid Thomas Harley and Henry Drummond, their heirs, executors, and adminiſtrators, that they ſhall be allowed all coſts and charges that ſhall attend the inverting the monies ſo to be iſſued to them into ſuch coined ſilver and gold coin, and the delivering the ſame to the ſaid paymaſters of the ſaid forces, either in New York, Nova Scotia, Louiſburgh, Quebec, or Montreal, or other places as aforeſaid.

And the ſaid Thomas Harley and Henry Drummond, for themſelves, their heirs, executors, and adminiſtrators, do hereby further covenant and agree, that they will fairly and faithfully account for, and duly anſwer to his Majeſty, all profits

profits and advantages which ſhall or may ariſe by and upon the monies to be inverted in manner aforeſaid. And the ſaid Commiſſioners of his Majeſty's Treaſury do agree, that the ſaid Thomas Harley and Henry Drummond, their heirs, executors, adminiſtrators, or aſſigns, ſhall be allowed, have, and receive, for their labour, pains, and ſervices, in receiving all ſuch monies, and inverting and paying over the ſame a full and clear allowance of one and a half per centum.

And it is hereby agreed, that ſufficient ſecurity, to the good liking of the ſaid Commiſſioners, ſhall be given by the ſaid Thomas Harley and Henry Drummond, for the due performance of the ſeveral articles of this indenture, on their parts to be done and performed, before they ſhall enter upon the execution thereof.

And it is hereby declared and agreed, by and between the ſeveral parties hereto, that this contract ſhall commence from the day of the date hereof, and continue for one whole year certain, and from thenceforth until the end of twelve calendar months after warning ſhall have been given, either on his Majeſty's part, or by the ſaid Thomas Harley and Henry Drummond, their heirs, executors, adminiſtrators, or aſſigns.

Laſtly, it is covenanted and agreed, between all the parties to theſe preſents, that the Commiſſioners of his Majeſty's Treaſury, or any of them, ſhall not be liable, in their perſons or eſtates, to any action of covenant, or any other proceedings whatſoever, in any court of law or equity, by reaſon or means of their being on his Majeſty's behalf made parties to this contract.

In witneſs whereof, the ſaid Commiſſioners of his Majeſty's Treaſury, and the ſaid Thomas Harley and Henry Drummond, have hereunto interchangeably put their hands and ſeals Signed,

NORTH.
G. ONSLOW.
C. JENKINSON.
J. DYSON.
C. TOWNSHEND.

Lord *North* acquainted the Houſe, that he had a meſſage from his Majeſty to the Houſe, ſigned by his Majeſty; and he preſented the ſame to the Houſe; and it was read by Mr. Speaker, and is as followeth, viz.

GEORGE R.

THE French King having concluded a treaty of amity and commerce with his Majeſty's revolted ſubjects in North America,

America, and his Majeſty having received advice, that the warlike preparations in France become every day more conſiderable; his Majeſty thinks that, in this critical conjuncture, he ſhould not act conſiſtently with the care and concern, which he always feels for his faithful people, if he omitted any means in his power that may contribute to their defence: therefore, in purſuance of the acts of parliament, enabling his Majeſty to call out and aſſemble the militia, in the caſes therein mentioned, his Majeſty has thought it right to make this communication to the Houſe of Commons; to the end that his Majeſty may, if he ſhall think proper, cauſe the militia to be drawn out and embodied, and to march as occaſion ſhall require. G. R.

Reſolved, *nemine contradicente*,

That an humble addreſs be preſented to his Majeſty, to return his Majeſty the humble thanks of this Houſe, for his moſt gracious meſſage; and to expreſs the juſt ſenſe we have of his Majeſty's goodneſs, and of his paternal care of his people, in providing every means in his power that may tend to their defence, and in his intention to call out and aſſemble the militia, if it ſhall be found neceſſary for that purpoſe.

Lord *North* moved to bring in a bill to continue an act of the 16th of his preſent Majeſty, for employing convicts on the river Thames.

Mr. *Burke* feared the time would come when we ſhould put priſoners and felons to death on the principle of œconomy.

Sir *William Meredith* diſapproved of the mode of puniſhment; ſaid, it was much more ſevere than tranſportation, and totally repugnant to the general frame of our laws.

Mr. *T. Townſhend* ſaid the act had not the deſired effect, for robberies were encreaſed inſtead of being diminiſhed; that in the courſe of the winter every day furniſhed ſome freſh account of ſome daring robbery or burglary. He ſaid, ſcarce a night paſſed in which there were not robberies committed in Park-lane, and firing of piſtols heard.

Mr. *Gaſcoigne* ſaid, he had been to ſee the convicts at work; that their puniſhment was far from ſevere; that though it was called hard labour, they do not do as much work in a day as may be done for hire for ninepence.

Mr. *Gilbert* ſaid, the act was meant as a temporary law, and as ſuch he was for continuing it, till ſomething elſe was ſubſtituted in its place.

Sir *Charles Bunbury* ſaid, that we ſtill poſſeſſed ſeveral places in America, to which felons could be tranſported.

Mr.

Mr. *F. Montagu* was for ſending the bill to a committee. He ſaid, he expected a bill upon a much larger plan; but in the mean time, if that ſhould not be practicable, he thought the preſent act ought to be continued.

Mr. *Burke* ſaid, the felons ought to be tranſported to Canada, Nova Scotia, and the Floridas.

Sir *Richard Sutton* moved for a committee to inquire into the ſtate of the priſoners, and to report the ſame to the Houſe. The other motion was withdrawn.

Colonel *Barré* gave notice that he would make a motion on Friday next (the 27th) reſpecting the expenditure of the public money.

Lord *North* obſerved, that the motion would lead to a large field; and if the gentleman would not declare to what particular parts of the expenditure his motion was meant to be directed, it would be impoſſible for him to rely on his bare memory, ſo as to be able to give the Houſe a clear and ſatisfactory account.

Colonel *Barré* ſaid he did not mean to take the noble Lord by ſurprize, nor was his motion a captious one. He would aſk no queſtions but what might be eaſily anſwered.

Lord *George Cavendiſh* remarked, that he never remembered it to be cuſtomary to give the Houſe a bill of fare on notice of a motion.

March 24.

No debate.

March 25.

The Houſe in committee of ſupply.

Lord *North* moved, that 1,406,923*l.* be granted to his majeſty, to defray the extra expences of his Majeſty's land forces.

That 18,895*l.* be granted for the charge of the augmentation to his Majeſty's forces.

That 6998*l.* be granted for the expences of roads and bridges in Scotland.

March 26.

Lord *North* preſented the bill for laying a tax upon Houſes, and moved, that the ſecond reading be on Monday next, the 30th.

Sir *George Yonge* wiſhed the ſecond reading deferred to a more diſtant day, as he took it to be a matter of very great conſequence to the inhabitants of the cities of London and Weſtminſter, and parts adjacent, in one point of view; and to the whole landed intereſt of England and Wales in another. He ſaid, the noble Lord's attempt to hurry it through the Houſe wore a very ſuſpicious appearance; that certainly

it

it was one of the moſt oppreſſive and injurious taxes that was ever deviſed; and reſembled more a law of puniſhment upon the metropolis, than a fair, equal, and proportionate tax upon property. He doubted not but the citizens of London, &c. would, if they had due notice, petition that Houſe againſt it; and this was the means taken to ſteal a march upon the perſons to be affected by the bill, and carry it through the Houſe by ſurpriſe. He ſaid, the Chancellor of the Exchequer had acquainted the committee, when the tax was firſt propoſed, that farm houſes were to be exempted. He begged to know from the noble Lord if proviſion had been made in the bill for that purpoſe?

Mr. *Byng*, after condemning the bill in ſtrong terms, ſaid, the noble Lord had given the committee likewiſe to underſtand that manſions would be exempted, becauſe, if they were not, the tax would operate, to all intents and purpoſes, as a land-tax: yet, if this iniquitous tax muſt paſs, he would be againſt the exemption; becauſe then the people without doors would have juſt reaſon to ſay the individuals compoſing that Houſe had taxed every one but themſelves.

Lord *North* replied to the firſt ſpeaker, that farm houſes of certain denominations might be exempted; but he never entertained a ſingle idea of not taxing manſions; but in the committee (the principle of the bill being clearly out of the queſtion) would be the proper place to ſettle thoſe matters.

Mr. *Burke* moved to have the bill printed, that thoſe who were to bear nine-tenths of the burden, which it intended to impoſe, might be timely informed of its contents. He called it a bill of puniſhment on the citizens of London, &c. for their daring to diſapprove of the American war.

Hon. *T. Walpole* ſaid, it was a melancholy conſideration, that thoſe and their poſterity who, within and without that Houſe, diſapproved and reprobated the American war, ſhould have their inheritances and properties mortgaged for the enormous ſums ſpent and laviſhed in endeavouring to effect ſyſtems equally fraught with folly, cruelty, and injuſtice. He ſaid, the noble Lord in the blue ribbon could not, without manifeſting the higheſt contempt for the inhabitants of this great metropolis, refuſe to conſent to the printing of the bill. His worthy relation (the late Sir Robert Walpole) who, without any diſparagement to his Lordſhip, was his equal in the ſcience of politics, upon a falſe alarm, acted in the manner now recommended on his own account. A great alarm, ſuch as that againſt the preſent bill, was raiſed in the year 1733 againſt the exciſe ſcheme. A falſe bill was printed and circulated through the country. The miniſter moved to have

one

one printed by the order of the Houſe, by which means the counterfeit was detected, and the clamour in a great meaſure inſtantly ſubſided.

Mr. *Rigby* oppoſed the printing of the bill, as unprecedented in reſpect of a money bill. It was an eſtabliſhed rule, he ſaid, never to print them; and if the preſent bill ſhould be printed, what end would it anſwer? for it was likewiſe another eſtabliſhed rule, never to receive a petition againſt a money bill.

The queſtion was then put, and the diviſion was, for printing 44, againſt it 71.

Mr. *Gaſcoigne* (Sir Charles Whitworth being indiſpoſed) brought up the report of the reſolutions agreed to in the committee of ſupply.

Mr. *Rigby* ſaid, he had, ſince the preceding day, made particular inquiry into the matter reſpecting the ſtoppages of the armies ſerving in America, and had found, that the ſame had been iſſued by the deputy paymaſter-general, by orders from the commander in chief, by warrants for that purpoſe. He then read, from papers, the orders from Sir William Howe, directing to pay ſo much, and to ſtop ſo much, on account of ſo many rations of proviſions. He profeſſed his ignorance of the particular grounds of thoſe orders—thoſe lay with the General to explain, who he doubted not would do ſo very ſatisfactorily in due time. This could not be done, however, till next year, when the whole would be cleared up to the ſatisfaction of the Houſe.

Lord *North* ſaid, that every thing upon future examination would appear clear and ſatisfactory; that the rations were diſtributed; and where they were not, there the ſtoppages accrued. That the ſtoppages were made on the effective men and non-commiſſioned officers; and, conſequently, though the numbers might be conſiderably leſs, the effectives, and the number of rations diſtributed, might eaſily account for the difference.

Mr. *Baker* was ſevere on the contractors for providing the gold coin. He ſaid, the commiſſion was exorbitant, and unprecedented. But ſuppoſing that one one-half *per cent.* might be reaſonable for the Spaniſh and Portugal coins, which he was ſure it was not, what would the nation think of miniſters who could, with ſuch a wanton hand, enough to create the moſt unfavourable ſuſpicions, give a commiſſion of one one-half *per cent.* on Engliſh gold ſent to America, and bills drawn on this country by the commander in chief. He inſiſted that half *per cent.* was full enough, and was the current price for which acceptances were done by every merchant

in

in the city of London, and that too on ſmall ſums, where there was more trouble in accepting and paying five thouſand pounds than what fell to the ſhare of the contractors in accepting and paying a million. He ſpoke of the 300,000 guineas ſent to America, and obſerved, on that article alone the contractors made only the trifling ſum of four thouſand ſeven hundred and twenty-five pounds.

Mr. *Burke* moved an amendment, to except out of the reſolution the ſum of 160,000l. His reaſon for doing ſo was, that he hoped an Engliſh Houſe of Commons would never conſent to pay this ſum, which he ſaid had been advanced to purchaſe hatchets, tomahawks, ſcalping-knives, razors, ſpurs, &c. for the ſavages of America to butcher, torture, ſcalp, and maſſacre old men, women, children, and infants at the breaſt.

On the queſtion the amendment was rejected, 21 for it, and 56 againſt it.

March 27.

No debate.

Adjourned to the 30th.

March 30.

Houſe-tax bill read a ſeçond time. No debate upon it.

Colonel *Barré*. He began with obſerving the enormous ſums which had been granted for army extraordinaries for the three laſt years, and how ſhamefully they had been ſquandered. He read, from papers on the table, the ſums granted; the detail of each year's expenditure; the particular ſervices; and the perſons who had performed the contracts. He ſaid, when the firſt extraordinaries of 800.000*l.* came before that Houſe, in the year 1776, he endeavoured to get explanations. The anſwer was, We have no vouchers; thoſe cannot be had till the next year. We have as yet procured no more than an account of the ſums iſſued, to whom iſſued, and the ſervices for which they were iſſued. All theſe are not vouchers to the Houſe; the vouchers ſhewing in what manner the money thus iſſued has been expended will come the next year. So it happened, he ſaid, the following, and ſo it has happened this year. This Houſe has each ſucceſſive year been told, that they are to have the vouchers of the preceding; none have been as yet produced; but the noble Lord, after his repeated and ſolemn promiſes, has thought proper to keep the parliament and nation in the dark. The ſame confidence, he might call it ſhameful confidence, and deluſion on one ſide, and the ſame ſhameful and traiterous ſerviſity on the other.

He

He ſaid, it was not even the money that was thrown away —but that *that* was permitted to lie in the hands of favourite placemen, favourite agents, and favourite contractors. In ſome inſtances this money was permitted to lie in the hands of men, anſwering to thoſe ſeveral deſcriptions, for fifteen or twenty years, while this ruined diſtreſſed nation was borrowing money at upwards of five *per cent.* He remarked, that a thouſand lame apologies were made day after day; ſuch as, that there were not clerks enough in the auditor's office. Why not have clerks enough? Such, again, was the ſhameful pretence in the navy-office, that they could not undertake the hiring the tranſport victuallers. Why not employ additional clerks, ſurveyors, &c.? But theſe were mere flimſy pretexts to blindfold the nation, and prevent them from diſcovering the iniquitous jobbs that were daily carrying into execution. If clerks, ſurveyors, and commiſſioners were wanting, and that the precious agent and contractor, Mr. Atkinſon, was able to ſupply them all, in his own perſon (that, for aught that appeared, being the caſe), why not employ this worthy gentleman to audit the accounts? He next turned his attention to Mr. Gordon, the inſpector of proviſions at Corke, who had only at the rate of upwards of ten thouſand pounds a year for his trouble, for what might be as well, he would not ſay better, executed for half ſo many hundreds. But he was apt to ſuſpect that poor Mr. Gordon had not all the profit ſet up to his account.

The Colonel next proceeded to ſtate the expences of the reſpective years of the late glorious war, and compare them with the firſt, ſecond, and third years of the preſent diſgraceful, ruinous, and inglorious war; and proved fairly, that when we had more than half of Europe to contend with our expences were not near ſo great. Where was the balance? What our conqueſts? Where were our prizes? Where were our victories? We had been beaten, defeated, or baffled, in every attempt. We had ſpent, or would ſpend, by the cloſe of the preſent campaign, upwards of thirty millions of money; and, to fill the meaſure of national calamity, we were on the eve of a war with France and Spain, as well as America. Here he took a more particular view of agents, contractors, ſplitting of profits, &c. particularly of the contracts and agencies of Harley and Drummond, on the Spaniſh, Portugal, and Britiſh gold coin; and the ſelf-denying Mr. Atkinſon, relative to his rum contract, and agency for the line of tranſports for the treaſury. He contended, that the rum contract was full fifty *per cent.* too much;

much; that the tranſport ſervice, including the commiſſion, was a loſs of twenty *per cent.* to the public; and that the contract for remitting money, and accepting bills given to Harley and Drummond, would be a waſte of public money, little ſhort of 30,000*l.* He ſaid, the rum contract had been referred to three merchants of the firſt reputation in the city, by the treaſury; the reſult of which was, that after the merchants had made the moſt ample allowance, there remained an exceſs of profit or *douceur*, for ſomebody, of full thirty *per cent.* He ſuppoſed, a reaſonable ſhare to the contractor for his trouble and riſque. He ſaid, it was well known that the price of rum in the iſland is ſeldom more than twenty, or twenty-one pence the gallon; that 5*d.* for profit and freight is a great allowance; but he did not wonder that great ſums had been devoured by contracts, when the noble Lord in the blue ribbon was ſo criminally ignorant as not to know currency from ſterling. But ſurely, if the noble Lord was ignorant of the difference, was it not culpable in him and his colleagues at the treaſury-board not to inquire of ſome perſon who was capable of informing them on the ſubject?

Lord *North* roſe in great warmth. He ſaid, he was pretty ſure it was ſterling; but gentlemen cried, No; and he, to humour them, acquieſced, though afterwards, upon inquiry, it proved to be ſterling, and that he was right.

Colonel *Barré* reprehended the noble Lord ſeverely for his diſorder, in a ſtrain of irony. The noble Lord, ſays he, ſeems to be in a paſſion. I am not ſurpriſed at it. I ſhould be ſurprized if he did not feel; but only mark his Lordſhip's philoſophic command of temper, he has not been the leaſt diſorderly in interrupting me; not in the leaſt diſorderly, to be ſure.

Lord North roſe again, and was proceeding in a higher tone, when he was called to order. Continuing ſtill on his legs, the cry of Chair! chair! ſucceeded. The Speaker told his Lordſhip, that the proper time to reply to the honourable gentleman, who was opening the grounds of his motion, would be when he had ſat down.

Colonel Barré was ſtill proceeding; and for nearly a quarter of an hour it was with great difficulty that the reſentment of the noble Lord could be repreſſed. At length, however, the peremptory orders of the chair prevailed, and his Lordſhip ſat down.

Colonel *Barré* reſumed the thread of his diſcourſe. He ſaid, the motions he meant to propoſe might ſeem rather new, becauſe not lately practiſed; but there were nevertheleſs ſe-

veral precedents in the journals in their ſupport, particularly in the years 1653 and 1667; and in the years 1694 and 1697, as well as ſeveral others.

He next obſerved on ſeveral other parts of the account. He ſaid, there was the ſum of five thouſand pounds paid to Sir Thomas Mills for an office enjoyed in Quebec ſome years ſince. He could not poſſibly ſee how this ſum happened not to be paid before. He ſaid, twenty-three thouſand pounds were charged for carrying on war againſt the Caribbs. He had inquired of ſeveral gentlemen, within and without doors, who have property in the iſland of St. Vincents, who anſwered, they heard nothing of any war exiſting in that iſland ſince the laſt troubles. He ſaid, in Meſſrs. Harley and Drummond's account there appeared a want of vouchers for eighty thouſand pounds. That there was a charge of one hundred and eight thouſand pounds for ſheep, and for cabbages, and other vegetables, excluſive of another monſtrous charge for four crout; beſides the enormous ſum of forty thouſand pounds paid to Lord Cornwallis without account.

He ſaid, that the laſt war in America, commiſſioners had ten pounds a day; but now they were paid at the rate of an hundred pounds a day. Said, that America, perceiving our luxury, diſſipation, and extravagance; and ſeeing us immerſed in corruption, reſolved to ſeparate from us; and he was well aſſured, that this was one of the great motives for her erecting herſelf into a ſeparate and independent ſtate. His reflections were very ſevere upon miniſtry in general, and pointedly ſo upon Lord North. The colonel painted, in the ſtrongeſt colours, our gloomy proſpect; ſaid, that Briſtol had already felt the fatal effects of this war; that Liverpool had done the ſame; and that London itſelf was ſo oppreſſed with the misfortunes of it, that ſhe had not courage even to complain. He quoted Reynell, that if the Engliſh ever have their manners ſo corrupted, and their principles of liberty ſo changed, as to attempt to put fetters upon the colonies, they will ſoon become ſlaves themſelves; that all Europe uſed to look upon England as her pride, but that ſhe now turned from her, and cheriſhed that pride in the Weſt, that phœnix riſing out of our aſhes.

He obſerved, that the noble Lord had the drum beat in that Houſe, and the ſtandard of war hoiſted againſt America; and looked upon none as his friends but ſuch as enliſted on the terms of compelling America, by the point of the ſword, to a ſurrender of her liberties. The noble Lord's power was great,

great, and his means of preſervation greater; but they all proved too weak for that reſiſtance which a ſpirit of freedom, and legal and conſtitutional liberty, inſpired.

He concluded, by ſtrongly recommending public œconomy; that, diſſevered as the empire was, we had no right to the expenſive pomp belonging to a great ſtate; that we were become a little one; that we ſhould œconomiſe the little we had left; but that the very men, who had brought us to this ſituation, would probably that very night reject the means of doing it.

He then moved his reſolutions, which ſubſtantially imported, that a committee be appointed to inſpect the public accounts, and to report their opinion thereon to the Houſe.

Lord *North* ſaid, he was ſtill right; for it was not currency, but ſterling. If he had been ignorant of that circumſtance, he did not expect to hear it imputed to him as a crime. He ſaid, if governors abroad drew bills on the treaſury, how could it be helped? They had no money there, and money muſt be expended in building barracks, forts, &c. and in raiſing defences within their reſpective governments. They muſt account for what they had drawn; and though they had over-drawn, the preſent was rather too delicate a time to proteſt their bills.

He ſaid, he had no objection to the propoſed committee, but ſhould wiſh not to have it above ſtairs, becauſe he could not attend there, on account of public buſineſs; but if in the Houſe, could and would attend, and ſhould wiſh to know before-hand to what heads of expenditure the honourable gentleman meant chiefly to direct the inquiry, that he might be enabled to give a proper anſwer.

Mr. *Cornwall* ſaid, the eſtimates were formed above an hundred years ago, and that all the materials uſed in ſhipbuilding, repairs, ſtores, &c. are increaſed treble in the value. This circumſtance, he ſaid, would fully account for the extras, and the great increaſe of the navy debt. He ſaid, accounts were confuſed things to look into; but the treaſury had done every thing that could poſſibly have depended upon them, to inſpect and regulate them. He ſaid, ſince ever he ſat at the treaſury-board, he diſliked governors' accounts; but what could be done? Here he copied, *verbatim*, the argument of the noble Lord who ſpoke before him. He ſaid, he thought it extremely improper to refer the rum contract to the merchants, without telling them the real price of the rum; inſtead of which, they fixed an arbitrary value on it, much below the real price, which was the reaſon

that all their deductions were wrong. He added, that public affairs could not be tranſacted with more care and attention than they were at preſent; that therefore he could not ſee the leaſt occaſion for adopting the method propoſed by the honourable gentleman; particularly as the contractors would refund to the treaſury what they had taken beyond a fair price, and that the treaſury would look to that and receive it accordingly; that the nation was not, at preſent, in a proper temper; and that this would only add to the calumnies and detractious ſpirit of the day.

Governor *Johnſtone* obſerved, that the very reaſons aſſigned by the honourable gentleman who ſpoke laſt, were the ſtrongeſt that could be poſſibly given in favour of the inquiry into the public accounts; becauſe he had acknowledged that the accounts were intricate, and difficult to liquidate. He ſaid, the treaſury had been greatly impoſed on in the rum contract, and, he believed, knowingly ſo; for if they had done their duty, to make inquiry, they would have found that the current price of proof rum in the iſlands is 1*s.* 11*d.*; and 4*d.* or 5*d.* at moſt was fully ſufficient for freight, leakage, &c. and was what any fair trader, or honeſt man, would be fully content with. He ridiculed Lord North's ſelf-ſufficiency, as he called it, in objecting to its being a ſecret committee, laying ſo much ſtreſs upon his own preſence being eſſential to the carrying on the buſineſs in it; ſaid, that for his part, were he to judge of the effect the noble Lord's preſence would have upon any future buſineſs, by what it had had upon all paſt, he ſhould wiſh his abſence from the committee; that certainly the ſituation of the affairs his Lordſhip has hitherto had the immediate management of, was, he thought, but little inducement for the Houſe to give much weight to the objection made by him to the ſecret committee.

Mr. *Aubrey* thanked the honourable gentleman who made the motion, to whom he was ſure the Houſe in general, and every country gentleman in particular, was ſo much obliged; that the papers on the table abounded with ſuch inſtances of extravagance, that it plainly appeared there was no other poſſible method of checking the careleſs profuſion of miniſters, but the one moved for; that not to comply with the propoſed inquiry, would be a breach of the truſt repoſed in us by our conſtituents; that if it was put off, not only the preſent miniſters, but all future ones, would regard it as a declaration, that impunity is a confirmed privilege of office; and that the rapacious contractor would receive it as a licence for plunder; that the valour of our officers and ſoldiers could

not

not alone ſave the country; that there muſt be a ſtrict attention to the finances, and application of public money; that without this, even another Marlborough or another Wolfe would not avail us; to uſe the words of one who was a great ſtateſman, as well as a great poet,

In vain doth valour bleed,
While av'rice and rapine ſhare the land.

Mr. *Jenkinſon* ſaid, he was for the motion in part, but he was againſt the opinions of the committee being reported; that upon condition that the motion was amended according to that idea, he ſhould vote for the ſelect committee. He ſaid, he knew the treaſury-board was always very exact in making inquiries before it entered into any contract; and made no doubt but the board had been equally circumſpect on the preſent occaſion. He ſaid, he did not think this a proper time for the committee of accounts. The Houſe was not in a temper to go into ſuch a tedious, difficult examination, and it might be productive of great miſchief, by diſſeminating ill-founded charges, calumnies, &c.

Mr. *Burke* replied, that to appoint the committee would be the beſt means of preventing calumnies, and of refuting ill-founded reports. The calumnies, if they deſerved that appellation, were already ſpread; inquiry, leading to a diſcloſure of truth, was the ſureſt way to detect falſehood. If I had to do with a man (ſays he) who ſuſpected me, and that I was conſcious of my own innocence, I would deſire, I would intreat, and, if I could not otherwiſe perſuade him to do me juſtice, I would, if in my power, compel him to examine into my conduct or accounts. He ſaid, he differed in ſentiment, as to the opinions not being reported from the committee, with the facts; but he did not afterwards inſiſt upon his objection: ſaid, that he could not ſee the great neceſſity there would be, for the noble Lord's [Lord North] being preſent at the committee, or even particular uſe there would be in it, unleſs to brow-beat ſome, and ſupport prevarication in others.

Lord *North* ſaid, he would repeat again, he had no objection to a committee, but not up-ſtairs; or if the Houſe liked a ſelect committee better, he would be perfectly content.

Mr. *Harley* ſaid, that the part of the public accounts relative to him would take up but very little of their time.

Mr. Alderman *Bull*. It is ſeldom, and for a few minutes only, that I ever venture to beg the attention of the Houſe; but, Sir, I think it a duty I owe to my conſtituents and to my country, to declare my opinion upon points, in which I

eſteem this Houſe to be in a peculiar manner the guardians, and the repreſentatives of the people at large.

What I have in view has ſome relation to the motion before you; the facts I ſhall mention are well known, though I think they have not been duly attended to. Sir, during the late peace, adminiſtration paid off eleven millions of the national debt; the public, however, did not, nor could they perceive any advantage they gained by this reduction of the debt, the taxes continuing the ſame, until they were told, that if we ſhould be again involved in a war, they would then be able to borrow the amount of the ſum paid off, without laying freſh burdens upon the people. Sir, we have had a war, and how have theſe miniſterial aſſurances turned out? Inſtead of fact, they were all deluſion. The firſt moment ſupplies were required, new taxes were propoſed. Two millions one hundred and fifty thouſand pounds were funded the year before the laſt; for this ſmall ſum (compared with eleven millions) freſh taxes were levied upon the people. The laſt year five millions were funded, and proportionable taxes were impoſed. Part of the additional load of the preſent year, our taſk-maſters have indulged us with the knowledge of. I ſhould not have troubled the Houſe with theſe obſervations, if any gentleman had noticed them before.

Sir, I cannot riſe in this Houſe, without adding a word upon the ſubject of the preſent unhappy war. My opinion has ever been the ſame; I think it founded in injuſtice, and executed in inhumanity. I hope the people will be rouſed to a contemplation of the perilous ſtate in which they now are; there may not be a week between us and total ruin. We have loſt America; our madneſs has driven her to independency; and that independency, in defiance of our reſolves, I am confident ſhe will ſupport. Beſides this, we have to lament, and miniſters to anſwer for, the loſs of many thouſands of valuable lives, and many millions of money, which no ſucceſs in ſuch an iniquitous war can ever repay. Theſe, Sir, are ſome of the fatal effects of the wiſdom of the preſent miniſters. Deluſion has ſucceeded deluſion, and diſgrace has ſucceeded diſgrace, till little remains to be added to the catalogue of our calamities.

The honourable gentleman that made the motion has ſaid, that the citizens of London are now ſo depreſſed, that they hardly dare complain; yet, Sir, though a citizen of London, I dare to give my opinion in this Houſe, and in the hearing of certain noble Lords. This opinion I have long held, and in which I am more and more confirmed by every day's experience.

rience. I am the more ready to declare this opinion, becauſe I do moſt firmly believe it to be the opinion, not only of the minority, but the majority of this houſe alſo. I mean, Sir, that the great objects of the preſent adminiſtration, their aiders and abetters, are, and ever have been, to aggrandize and to enrich themſelves; to plunder, to impoveriſh, and to enſlave the people.

Col. *Barré*'s motion having been amended by Mr. Cornwall, by leaving out the words, "to report their opinion thereon," the Colonel ſaid, that from the ſelect committee in 1773, much was expected, and little came forth; that he ſhould wiſh to withdraw his motion, rather than hang out to the public hopes of redreſs, and that ſomething would be done, and afterwards diſappoint the public expectation, by being able to effect nothing, as the matter was to be decided in the Houſe, where the parties concerned were certain of a majority.

Mr. *Stanley* ſaid, he did not approve of the committee, becauſe it implied a cenſure without a tittle of proof that that cenſure was well founded. He ſaid, he had been upon the India committee.

Mr. *Bayley* repeated what he had often ſaid reſpecting the rum contracts; that is, that he had offered miniſters better, or at leaſt as good, rum, for half the price they had charged to the public.

Sir *George Yonge*, for the committee, ſaid, that the papers on the table contained the charge, and that it was incumbent on thoſe it might be ſuppoſed to affect, to endeavour to refute it.

A ſelect committee was then moved and agreed to. Queſtion moved to chooſe by ballot in the manner of ſtriking a ſelect committee, in the caſe of controverted elections. Agreed to.

A petition of the free burgeſſes, freeholders, and inhabitants, of the town and county of Newcaſtle upon Tyne, was preſented to the Houſe, and read; ſetting forth, that, Deeply affected with the preſent public diſtreſs, and apprehenſive of the imminent danger if not total ruin of our political conſtitution, we look up to you, as the only proper guardians of thoſe rights and privileges, which we have committed in truſt to your defence and protection. We have long beheld, with concern, the growing incroachments of miniſterial power, and that power and influence given to intereſted men, whoſe avowed principles are diametrically oppoſite to the ſpirit of

our excellent conſtitution, which accompliſhed the excluſion of tyranny, by the late glorious revolution, and the ſubſequent elevation of our preſent moſt gracious Sovereign's illuſtrious family to the throne of theſe realms. After a long train of unredreſſed increaſing evils, we find ourſelves involved in an unneceſſary, expenſive, and ruinous civil war; many thouſands of our brave countrymen have been loſt; many millions of the public treaſure expended; our taxes daily increaſing; our trade and commerce declining; many of our reſources cut off; our national credit ſinking; and all (without the leaſt proſpect of public advantage), perſiſted in by our miniſters againſt the moſt humble petitions and juſt remonſtrances, until repeated ill ſucceſs, and the proſpect of a foreign war, have at length convinced them of their error and miſconduct, and compelled them inconſiſtently to ſolicit (probably too late) for thoſe terms which reaſon and truth had long ago ſued for in vain: We therefore pray, that the wiſdom and attention of Parliament may be ſeriouſly engaged to inveſtigate, and effectually root out, the cauſe of theſe evils, to eſtabliſh the peace and happineſs of ſociety, by humbly addreſſing his Majeſty to remove from his preſence and councils for ever thoſe men, who, from motives of intereſt or vindictive ambition, may have deſtroyed this peace, interrupted this happineſs, and forfeited the confidence of the people; and, to prevent ſucceeding delinquents from being miſled by the flattering hopes of impunity, we pray, that legal but rigorous and exemplary puniſhments may be impartially inflicted upon any who are found to have betrayed the juſt rights, and ſacrificed the welfare, of their country; that ſuch effectual check may be given to vice and corruption, and ſuch countenance and encouragement to public virtue, as may unite a free and generous people upon the ſolid baſis of loyalty and mutual affection, and enable us, with that prevalent aſſiſtance which depends upon the Divine Approbation, to eſcape the wiles, and repel the aſſaults, of our natural, inſidious, and powerful enemies.

Ordered,

That the ſaid petition do lie upon the table.

March 31.

No debate.

April 1.

Private buſineſs.

The following is a liſt of the ſelect committee appointed to inſpect into the expenditure of money, &c. upon Col. Barré's *motion:*

Col.

Col. Barré,	Sir William Baggot,
Sir Edward Aſtley,	Lord John Cavendiſh,
Mr. Ellis,	Sir G. Elliot,
Mr. Hatton,	Mr. Macdonald,
Mr. C. Melliſh,	Mr. Brereton,
Mr. D'Oyley,	Mr. Elwes,
Mr. Groſvenor,	Mr. Jenkinſon,
Mr. Medley,	Mr. F. Montagu,
Mr. Norton,	Mr. Oliver,
Lord Parker,	Mr. Stanley.
Sir Robert Sutton,	

April 2.

Lord *Nugent* moved, that a committee of the whole Houſe be appointed to conſider of the trade of Ireland. His Lordſhip obſerved, that the conduct of Great Britain towards its ſiſter kingdom had been no leſs impolitic than unjuſt, and that the preſent ſituation of public affairs called particularly on this country to enter into a reviſion of the Iriſh trade laws.

Mr. *Burke* ſpoke to the ſame purport; ſaid, Ireland was now the chief dependency of the Britiſh crown, and that it particularly behoved this country to admit the Iriſh nation to the privileges of Britiſh citizens.

Mr. *Baker* ſaid, the reſtrictions on the Iriſh trade defeated themſelves, and, inſtead of promoting the ſtaple manufactory of this country, that of woollens, had the direct contrary effect, by furniſhing the French with raw materials, which enabled them to rival and underſell us at all the markets in Europe.

Sir *William Meredith* confirmed what Mr. Baker had ſaid; obſerving, that the Iriſh, in order to pay the enhanced value of lands, were obliged to carry their wool to France, where it brought a moſt exorbitant price.

Mr. *Byng* ſaid, he hoped the narrow policy which induced this country to prevent the people of Ireland from manufacturing their native produce was at an end. He truſted, therefore, that the Houſe would come to the buſineſs with one heart, and a ſpirit of unanimity.

Queſtion put on Lord Nugent's motion, and agreed to *nem. con.*

Mr. *Powys* then roſe, and obſerved, that a right hon. gentleman [Sir William Meredith] had given notice ſome days ſince, that he would make a motion, for leave to bring in a bill for repealing certain laws relative to America; that he and ſeveral gentlemen daily attended in expectation of ſuch motion, but the right honourable gentleman hath hitherto

forborne

forborne to give any intimation to the Houſe, one way or the other, whether he had dropt all further thoughts of it, or had determined to make it on a particular day.

Sir *William Meredith* ſaid, he was obliged to the honourable gentleman for thinking any thing he could offer was worthy the attention of the Houſe; ſaid, he intended to have made his motion day after day, but other buſineſs and late Houſes conſtantly intervened to prevent him; beſides, part of the time he was much indiſpoſed; but now, that he was nearly recovered from his late illneſs, he would, with the approbation of the Houſe, make it on Monday next. Monday was accordingly fixed upon.

The *Speaker* then called upon Mr. Wilkes, to make his promiſed motion relative to aids and benevolences. He ſaid, the reaſon he particularly called on the honourable gentleman was, becauſe he underſtood he had a motion to make, and then, and not till then, there would be a queſtion before the Houſe to debate on. At preſent there was none. But if gentlemen will continue to converſe when notice of a motion is known, he begged the Houſe would revert back to the old rule, and not give any previous intimation, but accompany the notice with the motion itſelf.

Sir *Philip Jennings Clerke* gave notice, that he would on Thurſday move for leave to bring in a bill for diſabling contractors, or perſons ſharing any part of the profits ariſing from contracts, from ſitting in that Houſe.

Mr. Alderman *Wilkes*. In this free country, where the people have ſo conſiderable a ſhare in the legiſlature, I hold it to be the duty of every man to watch over the conſtitution. The members of this Houſe are more particularly delegated to a charge of this moment and importance. Any wilful negligence or inattention in us would be a breach of truſt, and highly criminal. In this thorough conviction, I ſhall take the liberty of ſubmitting to your conſideration ſome late proceedings, becauſe I am convinced they are, although countenanced by the higheſt authority, directly repugnant to the genius of our laws and government. The late encroachments on the conſtitution by the executive power of the ſtate have neither been gradual nor inconſiderable.

Among the great outlines of this well-poiſed conſtitution, I believe it will be acknowledged, that one of the moſt ſtriking is, the power aſſumed and regularly exerciſed by this Houſe, of granting the money of the people, which creates the dependence of the Crown on Parliament for ſupplies. *The purſe of the nation has been ſubject only to the con-*

troul

troul of this branch of the legiſlature. So that a jealouſy has prevailed on this occaſion, that the other Houſe have never been ſuffered to make the leaſt alteration in a bill, which could in any way be conſtrued to be a money bill, even by a fine or penalty in an enacting clauſe. This, Sir, is the plaſtic power of our creation. It gives us a certain, not a precarious, exiſtence. It is this ſingle circumſtance, which, under every change of miniſters, enſures to us the meeting annually within theſe walls. Were the land and malt taxes made permanent, could a revenue adequate to the whole annual public expence, and probable contingencies, with neceſſary ways and means, be voted by Parliament for a term of years, I ſhould ſuſpect the preſent ſet of miniſters would adviſe as long an intermiſſion of Parliaments as took place under ſome of the Stuarts. I do not mean, Sir, that they have now any thing to dread from the tame repreſentatives of an injured people, whom former miniſters, who held the ſame principles and conduct, uſed to approach with fear and trembling. Miniſters have now drawn the ſting of this great popular aſſembly. We have ſeen this very ſeſſion ſuch a ſervile complaiſance, ſuch an extreme of contradiction to themſelves, as ſhocks common faith, and muſt diſgrace the majority here in the eyes of all Europe. No cameleon ever ſhifted more ſuddenly to the oppoſite colour than they have done, from inſolence, intemperate rage, and war, to meekneſs, peace, and almoſt humiliation to the Americans.

Can any thing, Sir, be more alarming to the acknowledged right and privilege of this Houſe, than the doctrine lately propagated, and the practice begun, of giving private aids, benevolences, and ſubſcriptions, for public purpoſes, to the Crown without the ſanction of Parliament? The conſtitution has wiſely placed in the Crown the right of raiſing forces on a very preſſing and dangerous emergency. It is a power neceſſary for the ſafety of the ſtate, for the defence of the people. The ſtrongeſt check is however at the ſame time given to any improper exerciſe of this power. It is controuled by the neceſſity of an application to Parliament for the maintenance of ſuch forces. If troops could be raiſed, kept up, and paid, without the concurrence of this Houſe, the liberties of this country muſt be at the mercy of the military, and their commander in chief, perhaps an ambitious prince. Our ſtatute law, Sir, is not ſilent on this occaſion. Every year in the mutiny act it is expreſsly declared, that, "the raiſing or keeping a ſtanding army within this kingdom, in time of peace, unleſs it be with the conſent of Parliament,

is againſt law." But, Sir, if the Crown can by a prerogative, which is not diſputed, raiſe a ſtanding army, and by private loans, benevolences, or ſubſcriptions, keep this ſtanding army on foot, no application whatever need be made to Parliament. Our government would be that of the ſword, not of the law, to which all appeals muſt be trifling and inefficacious. Parliaments are now convened to vote neceſſary ſupplies, which are regularly aſked of the Commons on the firſt day of the ſeſſion. If government could receive them in any other mode than by the grants of this Houſe, the legiſlature itſelf would not only loſe its moſt important function, but become unneceſſary, and very ſoon obnoxious. The executive power muſt be truſted with the raiſing of forces, but it is likewiſe the duty of this Houſe to their conſtituents to take care that the number of thoſe forces be ſo proportioned to the defence of the ſtate, that the ſecurity of the ſubject may be provided for, and yet no alarm given to a nation very juſtly jealous of the leaſt danger to its liberties. While the military receive their pay from the grants of this Houſe, the maintenance of the army muſt depend on the approbation of Parliament; but if an artful or enterpriſing prince can find other reſources, the ſoldier will then look up to the prince, and not to the repreſentatives of the people. The executive and legiſlative power muſt now concur in the meaſure of keeping on foot any number of regular troops, both in its firſt adoption and continuance, or it cannot be the act of all the conſtituent parts of this government. If a deſigning prince, hoſtile, like moſt princes, to the cauſe of liberty, ſhould be able to raiſe an army, and by foreign gold, and the mad zeal or intereſted views of a party among us, could contrive to keep it on foot without the aid of Parliament, what ſecurity have we for the preſervation of our civil rights and privileges? The refuſal of ſupplies in this Houſe to force the diſbanding an army could have no valid effect, for the parliamentary grants would not be ſolicited. Future princes might govern, like the Stuarts, without Parliaments, by the exertion of an over-ſtretched prerogative, and even juries be under the controul of a crown officer, when the grand inqueſt of the nation was ſuperſeded.

The conſtitution of this country, Sir, would be wounded in another branch of the legiſlature, in the Houſe of Lords, by any grants of money, but through the medium of Parliament. The Peers have undoubtedly the right to reject a money bill. They may now, by their negative, force the diſbanding any number of troops, which they think unneceſſary, or dangerous to the ſafety of the nation. This important privilege

vilege would be taken from them, if ſuch a body of troops were to be maintained by any private loans, benevolences, or ſubſcriptions. The whole authority of the ſtate would thus be abſorbed in the Crown, and the two other branches of the legiſlature become a mere phantom, ſuppoſing even their forms to be preſerved.

I expect, Sir, that it will be aſked, are we not at liberty voluntarily to give our money to the Crown? Are free gifts from the ſubject to the King illegal? There is, Sir, ſcarcely a country in Europe which has not groaned under the oppreſſion of what are called free gifts. The very term is become ridiculous. Many a peaſant has periſhed in a loathſome dungeon, becauſe he would not be compelled to a *don gratuit*. The Engliſh hiſtory ſupplies innumerable inſtances of the cruel exaction of what have been termed voluntary loans and benevolences to the King. Many families have been ruined under the Tudors and Stuarts, becauſe they would not be compelled to make free-will offerings againſt their conſent to the ſovereign. The indiſcreet ardour of a few begins a ſubſcription, or loan, and then the reſt of a nation are compelled, under pain of our utmoſt royal diſpleaſure, to the ſame exertion, ſometimes to their utter deſtruction. Neither can equality be obſerved in ſuch contributions; whereas the fair and equal proportion of what every ſubject ſhould pay to the exigencies of the ſtate is one of the moſt important objects of every legiſlature. It becomes then the wiſdom of Parliament to put a ſtop to all abuſes of this nature by an expreſs ſtatute.

I have heard, Sir, the act of the 13th of Charles II. mentioned as an enacting law on this occaſion; but, Sir, it by no means reaches the preſent caſe. That act only provides, "that no commiſſions or aids of this nature can be iſſued out, or levied, but by authority of Parliament; and that this act, and the ſupply hereby granted, ſhall not be drawn into example for the time to come." The nature of thoſe aids and commiſſions was by authority under the great ſeal of England, to empower certain perſons to receive ſuch ſubſcriptions as his Majeſty's good ſubjects ſhould voluntarily offer; no perſon, not being a peer of this realm, in ſuch offer or preſent, to exceed the ſum of 200*l.* nor any peer of this realm the ſum of 400*l.* Reference is always, in this act, to commiſſions iſſued under the great ſeal. The neceſſity, however, of ſuch an act at ſuch a period plainly ſhews the ſentiment of that Parliament, as to the general doctrine of loans and ſubſcriptions, without the concurrence of the legiſlature.

There

There was, Sir, ſomething peculiarly offenſive to this Houſe in the manner and time, which the zealous partizans of a deſperate adminiſtration choſe, for the late unconſtitutional mode of raiſing money without conſent of Parliament. The miniſter had dictated to the majority an adjournment of a very unuſual length. Immediately after, their agents were buſily employed in getting ſubſcriptions and raiſing troops. There had not been the leaſt previous intimation of the new plan to this Houſe, nor the uſual meſſage from the Crown. No alarming ſtate-ſymptom had recently appeared, according to the apprehenſion of miniſters. The noble Lord with the blue ribband [Lord North] aſſured us, that he knew nothing of a treaty between America and France, nor did he believe its exiſtence, ſo judiciouſly had the immenſe ſums we had voted for ſecret ſervices been applied. The Houſe adjourned on the tenth of December, and we have on our table a letter from the war-office of the 16th, in which the ſecretary at war tells a gentleman very near me, [Sir Thomas Egerton, bart.] that he "was commanded by the King to acquaint him, that his Majeſty approves of the very handſome offers made by the town of Mancheſter, through him, for raiſing a regiment of foot at their own expence; the regiment to conſiſt of eight battalion companies, one company of grenadiers, and one of light infantry." The eagerneſs of the inhabitants of that loyal town to ſubſcribe, could only find a parallel in their efforts in the year 1746, and in the ſplendid zeal of another equally well-affected town in the ſame county, I mean Liverpool. It appears from the ſame letter, that the Mancheſter regiment was to conſiſt of no leſs than 1000 private men, beſides a colonel, lieutenant-colonel, major, captains, lieutenants, enſigns, ſerjeants, corporals, drummers, and fifers. The ſame eſtabliſhment was to take place for Liverpool. Lord Barrington promiſes, in the King's name, that, "the officers ſhall be entitled to half-pay, in caſe the regiment ſhall be reduced after it has been once eſtabliſhed." This was to be conſidered as an engagement from the public, although without the leaſt communication to Parliament, or conſent of this Houſe. The ſame promiſes were made to all the different corps which were to be raiſed during the late adjournment in another part of this iſland, where the proteſtant ſucceſſion in the illuſtrious houſe of Hanover is now become the idol of the people. All the new-raiſed Scottiſh regiments were to be entitled to half-pay. Theſe abſolute engagements for public money to be afterwards voted by Parliament, were made in direct violation of the

the rights of the repreſentatives of the people, and this murdered conſtitution. On ſuch terms the ſecretary at war's letters on our table ſtate, that Colonel Gordon's, Colonel Mackenzie's, Colonel Murray's, Colonel Maclean's, Lieutenant Colonel Campbell's, Lieutenant Colonel Mac Donnell's, the Edinburgh, Glaſgow, and Liverpool regiments, were to be raiſed. Private ſubſcriptions for the raiſing of theſe corps were at the ſame time warmly ſolicited by the agents of adminiſtration, and carried on with an uncommon ſpirit, immediately after the adjournment for the holidays. Some great men had the additional *douceur* of "the liſt of the other gentlemen recommended through them for commiſſions, being honoured with the royal approbation, and the ſecretary's aſſurance, in the King's name, that they ſhould have commiſſions as ſoon as ever the regiment was raiſed;" beſides the bribe of the half-pay. The ſecretary of ſtate, Sir, for the northern department, ventured to aſſert, in the King's name, that theſe private ſubſcriptions were conſtitutional. In a letter from that learned Lord, the Earl of Suffolk, to Sir John Wodehouſe, of February 17, it is ſaid, "I have had the honour of laying before the King a copy of the reſolutions delivered to me; and am now to inform you, that his Majeſty is fully ſenſible of the conſtitutional zeal and loyalty which dictated thoſe reſolutions." The moſt important of theſe reſolutions, which were agreed to at Norwich, is the raiſing money, by a private ſubſcription, for ſeveral avowed public purpoſes reſpecting the army. The ſubſcribers not only gave liberally from their own purſes, but promiſed to uſe their beſt endeavours, and to exert their utmoſt influence, in that county and city, towards carrying thoſe reſolutions into execution; contrary to what has been demonſtrated to be the eſtabliſhed doctrine of the conſtitution, that the crown cannot receive the money of the ſubject, for public purpoſes, but through the medium of Parliament. It ought, ſurely, Sir, to be the conſent of the whole people, by their repreſentatives, not the partial benevolence of a few intereſted individuals, in what ſome, as private men, may imagine a common concern of the ſtate, while others find it a lucrative job for themſelves and their dependents, by the gift or traffic of commiſſions, with the reverſion of half-pay for life, entailed on the nation.

I confeſs, Sir, that there is one circumſtance, with reſpect to the Mancheſter, Liverpool, and ſome Scottiſh regiments, which gives me pleaſure. I rejoice that they are to be ſent

to

to Gibraltar and Port Mahon, to replace the Hanoverians; for I think not only the ſpirit of the conſtitution groſsly violated, while the electoral troops of Hanover remain in poſſeſſion of thoſe fortreſſes, but the ſtatute law of the realm may be evaded. In the "act for the further limitation of the crown, and better ſecuring the rights and privileges of the ſubject," it is declared, "that all and every perſon and perſons, who ſhall or may take and inherit the ſaid crown, by virtue of the limitation of this preſent act; and is, are, or ſhall be, reconciled to, or ſhall hold communion with, the ſee or church of Rome, or ſhall profeſs the Romiſh religion, or ſhall marry a Papiſt, ſhall be ſubject to ſuch incapacities, as in ſuch caſe or caſes are by the ſaid recited act provided, enacted, and eſtabliſhed." We all remember, Sir, a very near relation of the crown, the Hereditary Prince of Heſſe, married to a daughter of England, openly embracing the Romiſh religion. If a miſguided prince could ever be ſo far perverted as to follow the religion, as well as the maxims, of the laſt Stuart King, and the Hanoverian troops ſhould then be in poſſeſſion of Gibraltar and Port Mahon, although the crown of England would be forfeited, the Elector of Hanover might ſtill ſecure the poſſeſſion of thoſe important fortreſſes which belong only to the imperial crown of this realm. I approve likewiſe the departure of thoſe regiments; for I recollect what paſſed in the march of the Scottiſh rebel army ſouthward, in 1746. I ſhall be glad to hear of their abſence, becauſe I do not think an invaſion of this country, at the preſent criſis, quite ſo chimerical a project as the conqueſt of America. I have read in the London Gazette, where truth was found in the laſt reign, a "liſt of the rebel officers, in the Mancheſter regiment, taken at Carliſle," by the hero of Culloden.

I am aware, Sir, that at the period to which I have alluded, many ſubſcriptions were carried on, and regiments raiſed, without a previous application to Parliament. At the breaking out of that rebellion, the legiſlative body was not ſitting. A long prorogation in the autumn had taken place, as uſual. The capital of Scotland had ſurrendered to the rebels, even before the Parliament could be aſſembled Never was a more eaſy, or perhaps willing, conqueſt. The rebels were in full march into the heart of the kingdom. Every thing dear and valuable to Engliſhmen was at ſtake. Without the moſt vigorous exertions, the cauſe of public virtue muſt have ſunk for ever. The greatneſs of the criſis called for ſuch

ſpirited

ſpirited meaſures, as could not be warranted in times of profound peace and public tranquillity. In this ſenſe only ought the famous paſſage in Lord Hardwicke's ſpeech to be underſtood. The firſt law of every ſtate is the *ſalus populi*. When that Lord High Steward paſſed ſentence of death on the Scottiſh peers in 1746, he obſerved, "Men of property, of all ranks and orders, crowded in with liberal ſubſcriptions, of their own motion, beyond the examples of former times, and uncompelled by any law; and yet in the moſt legal and warrantable manner, notwithſtanding what has been ignorantly and preſumptuouſly ſuggeſted to the contrary." He delivers the *dictum* with unuſual and indecent warmth, with the furious zeal of a convert; for of this ignorance and preſumption his Lordſhip had unluckily been himſelf guilty. A well-known letter from him to a gentleman in Surry, a near relation of a worthy member [James Scawen, Eſq.] whom I ſee in his place, which is ſtill extant, in the moſt expreſs terms condemns all private ſubſcriptions to the crown, for public purpoſes, as abſolutely illegal. But, Sir, I confeſs that I very little value the ſentiments of lawyers in general on the great topics of government. We have, indeed, in this Houſe three or four gentlemen of the law of the moſt enlarged underſtanding and extenſive genius; but the common obſervation ſtill holds good, that lawyers, of all profeſſions, ſeem leaſt to underſtand the nature of government in general; like under workmen, who are expert enough at making a ſingle wheel in a clock, but are totally ignorant how to adjuſt the ſeveral parts, or regulate the movement. That wiſe and deeply-learned Whig, Lord Hardwicke's profeſſed model, the great Chancellor Somers, would not, I believe, have delivered ſuch a doctrine as law. Yet, Sir, in my humble idea, thoſe ſubſcriptions were not only juſtifiable, but meritorious, I will venture to ſay patriotic; for they tended to the ſalvation of the country. Perhaps, Sir, after the extinction of that wicked, unprovoked rebellion, we ought to have acted as we did in the caſe of the embargo on all ſhips laden with wheat or wheat flour, in September 1766. The order of the King and council was certainly irregular, illegal; but it ſaved the people from famine; and therefore was ſanctioned by an act of the whole legiſlature. The preamble of that indemnity bill ſays, "Which order could not be juſtified by law; but was ſo much for the ſervice of the public, and ſo neceſſary for the ſafety and preſervation of his Majeſty's ſubjects, that it ought to be juſtified by act of Parliament."

I expect, Sir, to hear it objected, that the preſent time is by no means a proper ſeaſon for ſuch a motion; as we are probably on the eve of a war with France, and the whole Houſe of Bourbon. This objection will have no weight with me; for no man can be more zealous to ſtrengthen the hands of government, even to ſtrain every nerve of the ſtate, in a juſt war againſt France, our ancient enemy, the common enemy of the liberties of Europe. I would, however, do it in a parliamentary way. I wiſh this Houſe, in a good cauſe, to grant the ampleſt ſupplies againſt that ambitious, formidable, and encroaching power; although I think the preſent miniſters wholly inexcuſable in being thus long duped by flimſy pretexts and unmeaning verbal aſſurances. The meſſage to this Houſe of March 17 tells us, that the conduct of France is "contrary to the moſt ſolemn aſſurances, and ſubverſive of the laws of nations." Thoſe moſt ſolemn aſſurances deceived none but the credulous court of England, and the miniſters on the other ſide of the Houſe, who wiſhed to be deceived. As to the law of nations, in my opinion, it clearly juſtified the conduct of France. I call on any gentlemen, the deepeſt read in Grotius, Puffendorff, and the other writers on the rights of war and peace, and the law of nations, to prove, from a ſingle paſſage, that the French ambaſſador's late declaration is ſubverſive of the law of nations. The United States of America were, at the concluſion of the late treaty, on a footing with all other ſtates. They had, by the moſt public acts, with a full chorus of applauſe from almoſt the whole northern hemiſphere, aſſerted their independency, of which they had at that time near two years full poſſeſſion. The preſent conduct of France to America likewiſe receives the fulleſt juſtification from the former conduct both of England and France to Holland and Portugal, when they ſeparated from the Spaniſh monarchy, and became independent ſtates. We both went further than France has done in this inſtance. France and England, at that time, furniſhed entire regiments, ſhips of war, ammunition, and all warlike ſtores, to the revolted ſubjects of the Spaniſh monarch. The immediate cauſe of complaint, at the preſent period, is only that France has concluded a treaty of amity and commerce with America. Is this an unjuſt aggreſſion on England? Is this a juſt cauſe of hoſtilities on our ſide, and will it warrant the involving this country, as well as France, in all the horrors and calamities of war? France ſeems, indeed, to be taking a dreadful revenge on us, by ſecuring to herſelf the commerce of America

rica as an indemnity for all ſhe ſuffered during the laſt war; but, in the treaty, ſhe has acted according to the law of nations. Yet, Sir, if we muſt be forced into a war, I do not deſpond. With the ſame great miniſter, who ſo glorioufly conducted that war, and the ſame noble efforts in the people, I ſhould not doubt of equally brilliant ſucceſs, provided we had peace with America, to whom, in no ſmall degree, we owe what ſhare of conſideration we have among the powers of Europe. The navy of this country, which is its ſureſt bulwark, owes its greatneſs to our colonies, has "grown with their growth, and ſtrengthened with their ſtrength;" a navy which has ungratefully and barbarouſly laid their towns in aſhes. Trade and commerce, the ſupport of moſt nations, the chief care of the wiſeſt, have derived their late vigour and ſpirit from America. What dreadful commercial calamities have we ſuffered ſince the unhappy conteſt with her! If ſhe joins the whole Houſe of Bourbon againſt us, I ſhall begin to be alarmed for our own independence; at leaſt, the power and glory of England, which have not, till this fatal period, withered, like a fair flower, nor been mowed by the ſcythe of all-devouring Time, that ſtrikes empires from their root, be in danger of being cut off by the ſword of her juſtly incenſed offſpring. We have been found unequal to the conteſt with America alone. A Congreſs, worthy of Rome while Rome was free, *tumidas contudit minas* of an inſolent miniſter, and the venal majority of a Britiſh Parliament. All our miniſters, Sir, have been groſsly ignorant as to the real ſtrength of that vaſt northern continent. Even the great man, who is now removed into the other Houſe, delivered a very weak and ill-founded opinion here, in the debate on the repeal of the accurſed ſtamp-act, that "the force of this country could cruſh America to atoms." The force of this country, aided by Heſſians, Hanoverians, and all the other German mercenaries, has effected nothing but unſoldier-like retreats in three years. The united force of Europe, Sir, cannot cruſh America to atoms, if we conſider the natural ſtrength of the various component parts of that immenſe continent. Peace, peace, therefore, with America, ought to be our object. Force has been found as unavailing as ill-directed.

I fear our conduct has cemented the union between America and France. Since the affair of General Burgoyne, and the French acknowledgment of their independence, it cannot be ſuppoſed that the Americans will ever think of returning to a dependence on this country. The experiment,

however, Sir, might be made, of endeavouring to detach the United States from France, by an acknowledgment of their independence, and a league of more than amity and commerce, a treaty offenſive and defenſive with the mother-country. The ſame religion, language, laws, love of liberty, the ſame common ſtock and progenitors, the *genus Latinum Albanique patres*, a reciprocity of the important intereſts of commerce; all theſe might conſolidate the baſe of a firmer, more compact alliance than ever yet was formed between two empires. But, alas! perhaps theſe are only pleaſing viſions, mere phantoms of the imagination, unſubſtantial mockeries, and the reality will be an obſtinate and bloody war, to be concluded, poſſibly, even in this reign, in a farther diſmemberment of the Britiſh monarchy. I heartily wiſh, Sir, a war with France could be avoided. I know we are unprepared, and that the people have no confidence in government. They have even a horror of miniſters, who have loſt more than half our empire. The provocation of the day cannot juſtify a war. The treaty is only of amity and commerce with America, not of hoſtility againſt Great Britain, or any power. England, in my opinion, ought to have done what France has done. But has ſhe, Sir, acted againſt us in a manner to juſtify hoſtilities on our part? Is the principle or the policy of our conduct quite aſcertained to be juſt, wiſe, or expedient? An ignorant and incapable ſet of miniſters have brought us into ſo diſgraceful a ſituation that we can neither proceed with ſafety, nor retreat with honour. In ſuch contempt is this nation now held, that even Portugal, which was lately almoſt a province of this kingdom, looks down upon us with inſolence.

Sir, the ſpirit of liberty is a ſpirit of jealouſy. It ought to be more ſo than ever at the preſent æra, which ſeems peculiarly fatal to the cauſe of public freedom in Europe, while it is victorious in the weſtern world. Every man, who wiſhes well to the free Engliſh government, muſt be alarmed for its ſafety, when he reflects on the fate of the neighbouring nations, of the moſt conſiderable ſtates. A late event ought always to be in the perſpective of the true lovers of public liberty. The kingdom of Sweden, one of the freeſt monarchies in the world, has recently fallen under the galling yoke of deſpotiſm, by the treachery and perjury of its king. The moſt ſolemn legal obligations, and explicit compacts, enforced, as it was ſuppoſed, by the moſt ſacred ſanction of oaths, were found inſufficient to ſecure the liberties of that brave people from the invaſion of the military; at

the

the inſtigation, and by the command, of a monarch to whom every ſpecies of fraud and deceit ſeems familiar. No ſovereign, in any age or country, ever made ſtronger and leſs equivocal promiſes to his people, cemented by all the holy ties of religion. The ſpeeches from the throne always held out a profound veneration for the laws, an inviolable attachment to the eſtabliſhed conſtitution. The pious hypocrite not only expreſſed his own abhorrence of arbitrary power, but declared that he would conſider thoſe as the worſt enemies of his perſon and government, as the vileſt traitors to their country, who ſhould, in any way, and under any pretence, ſeek to add to his power, or to introduce an unlimited authority in his perſon. He even pretended to think it his greateſt glory to be the firſt citizen of a free country; and he aſſerted, that to govern it free and independent was his higheſt ambition. He repeatedly, with great parade, reminded the Swediſh nation of the oaths he had taken to them, and the excellence of the conſtitution to which he was ſo religiouſly attached; while at the ſame time he was meditating the means of enſlaving his people. By the aſſiſtance of the army he has acquired the moſt abſolute and deſpotic power. According to the new form of government, the ſtates of Sweden cannot aſſemble but by the royal permiſſion. The King is to chuſe the ſenate. They have no right to deliberate upon any thing but what the King pleaſes to lay before them. If the contributions are not granted within three months, the old are to remain. In caſes of neceſſity the King may impoſe taxes till the ſtates are aſſembled. There would have been no neceſſity for this, if a ſlaviſh party among his own ſubjects had been willing and able, by any private aids, loans, benevolences, or ſubſcriptions, to put it in his power to ſupport a military eſtabliſhment, and to raiſe new levies at his pleaſure. He, as well as the Sovereign of England, has the ſole diſpoſition of the army, navy, and all employments civil and military.

The perjured Sovereign of Sweden, by the aſſiſtance of only a ſmall part of the military, has enſlaved his people, and made himſelf the abſolute tyrant of a limited monarchy in which he was born and educated, and whoſe conſtitution he was ſworn to preſerve.*

I know,

* In the King of Sweden's ſpeech at the opening of the diet, on the 25th of June, 1771, he declared, "*Born and*

I know, Sir, that in the important motion, which I have the honour of ſubmitting to the Houſe, I ſtand on the firm,

---

" *educated* among you, I learned from my early youth to love " my country, to conſider it as my greateſt happineſs that *I* " *was a Swede*; as my greateſt glory, that I was the firſt citi- " zen of a *free* people. To ſee this nation happy, is my firſt " object; to govern a *free* and independent people, the height " of my ambition. Do not ſuppoſe theſe are vain words, " contradicted perhaps by the ſecret ſentiments of my heart. " They are the true pictures of a heart glowing with the moſt " ardent love for glory, and for my country—*A heart* too ho- " neſt to dictate what it does not feel, *too proud ever to recede* " *from an engagement.*" On the 28th of February, 1772, his Swediſh Majeſty ſolemnly confirmed by oath, and his ſignature, the twenty-four articles of the *Act of Bond or obligation to the people.*

Mr. Sheridan ſays, *the King, who that morning* [Aug. 19, 1772] *roſe from his bed the moſt limited prince in Europe, in the ſpace of two hours rendered himſelf no leſs abſolute at Stockholm, than the French Monarch is at Verſailles, or the Grand Seignior at Conſtantinople.* Page 300.

Since the eſtabliſhment of the late form of government, in the year 1720, the Swedes have hitherto beheld only *foreigners* on the throne, Frederic the Firſt, and Frederic Adolphus. Page 255.

A Hiſtory of the late Revolution in Sweden; by Charles Francis Sheridan, Eſq. of Lincoln's-Inn, and Secretary to the Britiſh Envoy in Sweden, at the time of the late Revolution.

The King of Sweden was congratulated in the higheſt ſtrains of flattery by the courts of France and England, which perfectly agreed in their joy on this victory over liberty. The French Gazette gave a falſe and partial account of this *inglorious revolution*, which was ſaid to be *peu preparée*, and obſerved, " tout manquoit à ſa Majeſté Suédoiſe; elle ne s'eſt pas manquée à elle même; ſa prudence, ſa fermeté, ſon audace, diſons mieux, ſa *vertu* a ſupplée à tout. Les *Senateurs*, aſſem- blés dans leur ſalle ordinaire étoient aux fenêtres lorſque des officiers vinrent leur apporter l'ordre de reſter tranquilles dans l'appartement—ils voulurent répliquer, mais leur pouvoir ariſtocratique n'impoſoit plus; ils durent obéir.

The preſent King of Sweden was in Paris at the time of his father's death, in February, 1771. It is agreed, that he *planned in* that capital the ruin of the liberties of his country.

conſtitutional

conſtitutional ground of Engliſh liberty, and the rights of Parliament. I therefore particularly claim, and call for, the ſupport and aſſiſtance of thoſe whom I love and venerate, the real Whigs, and friends of this excellent conſtitution. They are naturally jealous of every infringement on the peculiar privileges of this Houſe, as the repreſentatives of all the Commons. The fundamental rights of Engliſhmen have always been their peculiar care. Any acceſſion of power to the dangerous influence of the crown, without the ſanction of Parliament, they muſt reprobate. In this caſe, our very exiſtence, as a legiſlative body, is brought into jeopardy. From every principle of duty to the free ſyſtem of government under which we live, and even of ſelf-preſervation, this motion ought to be ſupported; and, in conſequence, I hope for unanimity, when I ſupplicate the Houſe, "that leave be given to bring in a bill, more effectually to prevent the dangerous and unconſtitutional practice of giving, or granting money to the crown, as a private aid, loan, benevolence, or ſubſcription, for public purpoſes, without the conſent of Parliament."

Sir *Thomas Egerton* thanked the honourable gentleman, for taking notice of his letter; ſaid, the people of Mancheſter were as loyal ſubjects as any the King had; and what induced them to ſubſcribe, or propoſe to raiſe a regiment, was to aſſiſt his Majeſty in aſſerting and maintaining the juſt rights of the conſtitution. It was true, ſome of the people of Mancheſter were in rebellion in 1745; but he thought it extremely ungenerous to rake up the aſhes and faults of the dead, as a ground of throwing the moſt unjuſt calumnies on the living. He ſaid, the number engaged in the unhappy affair alluded to, were comparatively few that lived near the town; and could affirm, from his own knowledge, that, as there were no people more perſonally attached to the perſon of the King, ſo there were none who were more eager or ready to ſupport the rights of the conſtitution.

Mr. *Burke* ſaid, Britiſh liberty would be but a mere ſhadow, if the King on the throne could either legally or conſtitutionally raiſe troops without the conſent of Parliament. There were caſes of emergency, when the ſafety of the ſtate depended upon a timely and conſtitutional exerciſe of the prerogative; ſuch as in the caſe of an invaſion, dearth, &c. but pending the ſitting of Parliament, he held any attempt to raiſe troops, without a conſent direct or implied, no better than a royal uſurpation of parliamentary rights. He ſaid, a ſupine-

neſs, a political ſtupor, had ſeized Parliament, and that we now ſeemed to be juſt ripe for ruin.

Lord *Nugent* ſpoke a few words; ſaid the vote of credit was a full, legal, and conſtitutional authority for the meaſure.

The queſtion being put, the motion was negatived by a majority of 71 to 40.

Lord *North* gave notice, that he would to-morrow move to have ſome allowance made to ſubſcribers to the loan, in order to make up the loſs ſuſtained by them, on account of the event which took place before their firſt payment was made; alluding to the notification delivered by the French ambaſſador.

Mr. *Byng* ſaid, he never heard of ſuch—he was going to ſay, ſo barefaced a propoſition, or impoſition. This, indeed, would be a precedent, with a witneſs, for all ſucceeding miniſters. Did not the noble Lord tell the Houſe, with his uſual confidence and tone of authority, what great advantage he had given ſubſcribers; and had he the face to come now, to put his hand into the national pocket, in order to recompenſe his friends, who had, as a mark of favour, of private and parliamentary kindneſs, got great ſums in the loan? Was the noble Lord to have ſhared the profits, if there were any; and was the nation only to be the ſharer of the loſſes?

Mr. *Baker* ſaid, he was aſtoniſhed at the noble Lord's temerity, and his conſequent contempt of Parliament; it was, indeed, beyond endurance. He would put a queſtion to the noble Lord: Suppoſe, as had often been the caſe, in former loans, that the ſubſcribers had made three, five, or eight per cent. would the ſubſcribers come to his Lordſhip, or that Houſe, and refund the difference? Would they come to the bar, and tell the chair, Our gains have been exorbitant; we run no riſque; we might win, but could not loſe; and we are now, as a matter of right and juſtice, come to make a tender of our profits?

Mr. *Burke* was equally ſevere on the miniſter. He contended, that the idea of loans was ridiculous, if this was to be the effect of them.

Lord *North* replied, he thought the propoſition but juſt; as the event alluded to had happened before the firſt ſubſcription. If the ſubſcribers were to be the ſufferers, it would be out of the power of any miniſter to raiſe a loan at a future time upon any critical occaſion.

Mr. *Grenville* ſaid, the noble Lord knew, at the time the budget

budget was opened, that the event would happen in a few days, and before the day that the firſt payment was to be made. He dared ſay, the noble Lord would hardly deny it; and if he knew, he would repreſs his feelings, and leave it to the Houſe to fix upon an epithet ſuited to ſuch a conduct; the Houſe might find out a name, he could not, for the part the noble Lord had acted. He ſaid, he would move a ſimilar motion to that he moved before—for an addreſs to his Majeſty, to lay before the Houſe copies of all letters received from our ambaſſador at the court of Paris, &c. relative to the treaty entered into between France and America.

Queſtion put; Houſe divided; Ayes 45, Noes 66.

Houſe then went into committee on the houſe-tax bill, Mr. Gilbert in the chair.

Sir *George Yonge* ſpoke againſt the principle of the bill; ſaid, the tax was unequal.

Mr. *Byng* ſaid, it was in every ſenſe a land-tax; that ſome places already pay 4s. 6d. land-tax, particularly the pariſh in which he reſided.

Sir *Grey Cooper* ſaid, it would not operate as a land-tax, for gentlemen might pay it optionally; they might live in leſs houſes, or reſide abroad, but cannot ſhift or avoid the land-tax. People in general of all deſcriptions would live in houſes ſuited to their fortunes.

Mr. *Byng* moved, that houſes rented at 10l. a year, and under, ſhould not pay.

Sir *Cecil Wray* was of the ſame opinion.

Mr. *Burke* ſaid, there were many ſmall freeholders who owned houſes of 6l. or 8l. a year, who worked harder, and were much poorer, than many that paid rent, and were only day-labourers.

Queſtion put, and negatived by a majority of 69 to 51.

Moved, that houſes at 7l. and under be exempted. Committee divided; Ayes 61, Noes 68.

Sir *George Yonge* moved, that houſes let at 6l. and under ſhould not pay. Obſerved, that the miniſter had produced no information of the ſum any particular deſcription of houſes would bring in; ſaid, ſuch a neglect was ſhameful, and was treating Parliament with indecency and contempt.

Sir *Grey Cooper* ſaid, the charge of neglect was ill founded; if the noble Lord, or adminiſtration, had been remiſs in their duty, they were ready to ſubmit their conduct to the judgment of the Houſe, but not to individuals.

Sir

Sir *George Yonge* ſaid, he did not mean individuals; nor did he know before, that the honourable gentleman was the tax-miniſter.

Mr. Powys for the motion; Colonel Onſlow againſt it; Mr. F. Cornwall and Mr. Byng ſpoke for the motion. Queſtion put; Ayes 58, Noes 81.

Mr. *Sawbridge* ſaid, it was ſuppoſed the tax would raiſe 200, 000l. out of which 180, 000l. would be raiſed in the metropolis.

Then motion for 5l. 5s. per annum; Ayes 57, Noes 83. Then for 5l. 1s. Ayes 58, Noes 85.

Lord *Ongley* in favour of the tax, and recommended one on public houſes, which he ſaid would bring in 70, 000l. a year.

At twelve o'clock the minority moved to adjourn. For the queſtion 27, againſt it 49.

Proceeded till one o'clock, and adjourned.

April 3.

In committee on the houſe-tax bill, ſeveral amendment were propoſed and rejected. Sir *Grey Cooper* propoſed to tax the farm-houſes.

Mr. *Powys* called upon Lord North, and reminded him of his opinion, that farm-houſes were not a proper object of taxation, yet he had now broke his word, and changed his opinion.—He ſaid, if a perſon rented land to which a large houſe was attached, he would be liable to be taxed to the eſtimated value, though perhaps he did not occupy one fourth of it.

Sir *George Yonge* ſaid to the ſame purport, and obſerved, that a houſe might be taxed at an higher value than the farmer actually paid for houſe and land.

Lord *North* ſaid, he never entertained a ſecond opinion on the ſubject; that he felt the objection againſt taxing farm houſes, but he did not ſee how the line could be drawn, without ſo far, as it went, defeating the tax.—If any gentleman could propoſe a medium, he profeſſed himſelf willing to adopt it.

Sir *Richard Sutton* offered an amendment to the clauſe, that houſes coming within the deſcription alluded to ſhould be taxed at the rate of ten pounds per annum, and no more; and that farm houſes, rated at a lower rent, ſhould be exempted.

The clauſe was agreed to without any oppoſition, and the bill being gone through, the Chairman ordered to report the bill and amendments.

As

As ſoon as the Speaker took the chair Lord *North* informed the Houſe, that the propoſition he promiſed to ſubmit to the Houſe relative to indemnifying the ſubſcribers to the loan that day, he propoſed to defer till ſome day in the courſe of the next week.—He obſerved, that the Houſe was thin, but if there had been a full attendance, he ſhould have poſtponed it for a few days.

Mr. *David Hartley* ſaid, he wiſhed that the noble Lord would entirely lay aſide all further thoughts of his intended propoſition; for whatever other objections, in point of œconomy, or otherwiſe, there might be againſt it, there was one which to him was amply ſufficient; that he foreſaw it would be highly injurious to public credit.

Sir *George Yonge* adopted the ſame opinion, and moved, that the liſt of the names ſent from the treaſury to the bank, of thoſe who were to have ſcrip; and the liſt returned from the bank to the treaſury, ſhewing who had paid the ten per cent. be laid before that Houſe.

After a few words private converſation with Lorth North, Mr. *David Hartley* roſe a ſecond time, and ſaid he wiſhed the honourable gentleman would withdraw his motion for the preſent, and ſee whether the noble Lord would perſiſt in his firſt intention, that of making the propoſition.—He hoped the noble Lord would think better of it.—It would cauſe great confuſion in the firſt inſtance, and prevent the people from relying on acts of parliament, relative to money tranſactions, in future.

Sir *George Yonge* withdrew his motion, and the Houſe adjourned to the 6th.

April 6.

Mr. *Robinſon* reported the houſe-tax bill with the amendments.

Mr. *Byng* moved an amendment to Sir Richard Sutton's amendment, that houſes of ten pounds a year be inſerted as taxable inſtead of five pounds and upwards. He ſaid, this became neceſſary, as the farmer who rented two or three hundred acres of land was exempted, while a poor, labouring man that rented a houſe at five or ſix pounds, and did not occupy even a half of that, but let it out in rooms to perſons of his own deſcription, would be obliged to pay, or be ſubject to have his bed taken from under him, and ſold to pay the tax.

Sir *George Yonge* declared himſelf of the ſame opinion; ſaid, he diſliked the power veſted in the ſurveyor, to aſcertain the rent of houſes at his own diſcretion.

Mr.

Mr. *Baldwin* ſaid, as the public faith had been pledged to thoſe who ſubſcribed, he muſt vote for the bill as it ſtood reported, unleſs thoſe who propoſed to diminiſh the fund for paying the annuities to the public creditors would ſubſtitute ſome other tax by way of equivalent.

The queſtion was put for the amendment, and carried by a majority of 77 to 70.

Sir *William Meredith* roſe, and ſtated the grounds of his promiſed motion. He deſcanted on the ſeveral obnoxious acts paſſed ſince the year 1763, pointing out their deſtructive tendency one by one. He ſaid, every ſtep towards a reconciliation with our colonies would prove fruitleſs, without a full, open, and unequivocal repeal. It was his ſincere opinion, that America would never accept of our friendſhip, unleſs it was founded upon a baſis of intereſt, equally broad and comprehenſive with what they were likely to draw from their preſent connexion with France. If we made offers of a ſimilar nature with France, moſt certainly America would give Great Britain the preference. Our brethren, deſcended from the ſame ſtock, ſpeaking the ſame language, profeſſing nearly the ſame religion, and formed to the ſame ſtudies, habits, and purſuits, we had every chance to ſucceed and to rival France, ſhould the Colonies find an equal intereſt, by giving way to their prejudices, and their native affection for the parent ſtate. He ſaid, that other nations would be jealous of their manufactures and commodities; Sweden of her iron; Denmark of her timber; Ruſſia of her naval ſtores: in ſhort, every power to the northward. He adviſed not to ſend out the commiſſioners with their preſent powers. To give power to ſuſpend, and not repeal, was doing next to nothing; or even repealing the reſt, and leave the declaratory law ſtanding, and the ſame difficulty would recur. For ſuppoſe commiſſioners ſhould be authoriſed to aſſure the Congreſs, that the declaratory act would be repealed, what poſſible ſecurity could the Congreſs have for the performance, Parliament being ſtill at liberty to diſſent, though America ſhould agree to conciliate? He then moved, That an act of the 6th of the preſent King, intituled, "An act for the better ſecuring the dependency of his Majeſty's dominions in America upon the crown and parliament of Great Britain" might be read. It was read. He then moved, That leave be given to bring in a bill to repeal the ſaid act.

Mr.

Mr. *P. Burrel* ſeconded the motion. He deſcribed the ſtate of our fleets, armies, finances, negotiations, in ſtrong colours, and warmly preſſed the neceſſity of a repeal.

Mr. *Powys* ſpoke for the repeal.

Mr. *Fielde* ſaid, he approved of the principles of the declaratory act; but obſerved, that the whole American ſyſtem and plan, laid down and purſued by adminiſtration, had been taken from the Marquis de Montcalm's letters.

Sir *Cecil Wray*.——Was I of opinion with the honourable gentleman who ſpoke laſt, I ſhould be againſt the queſtion for the repeal of the declaratory act. If this country has ſuch a right, I do not apprehend ſuch a repeal would have any effect; it would leave us in directly the ſame ſtate in which we now are ſuppoſed to be, fully poſſeſſed of it, though for reaſons of convenience we might wiſh not to talk of it at preſent.

But, Sir, I give my vote for the queſtion under a ſincere conviction, that the declaration contained in the act is ſo far from being true, that the very reverſe of it is ſo, and that the Parliament of Great Britain has no power to paſs laws binding America *in any caſe whatſoever*.

When America was firſt ſettled, the whole right to conqueſt, diſcovery, and diviſion of lands was in the King;—it was in his power to grant them to any body, and on any condition. This power he uſed in America in all caſes without, and in ſome againſt, the conſent of Parliament, who never indeed ſuppoſed that ſuch feudal rights were veſted in them.

At what time the King gave up or Parliament uſurped theſe rights is not now my buſineſs to inquire; but I muſt maintain that, unleſs America had conſented to ſuch a ceſſion, America is not bound by it, but her rights remain the ſame as when firſt eſtabliſhed by her charters.

A late deciſion in the King's Bench fully eſtabliſhes this doctrine. The King may lay any impoſitions on a conquered country by his own authority, till he has by proclamation or otherwiſe given up that power by eſtabliſhing another.

Had I thought this act declaratory of the real power of Parliament, I ſhould have voted for the repeal of the obnoxious acts, on the idea of their inexpediency; but thinking, as I do, that the Parliament of Great Britain has no power to paſs laws binding America in any caſe whatſoever, I ſhall certainly concur with my honourable friend in voting for the repeal of the declaratory act.

Mr.

Mr. *Graves* moved, that the debate be adjourned to that day two months. It was agreed to.

April 7.

The Houſe in committee, Lord Middleton in the chair, to take into conſideration the acts of Parliament relating to the trade of Ireland.

Earl *Nugent*, on whoſe motion the committee had been formed, opened the buſineſs. From a long ſeries of unſhaken loyalty, the Iriſh, he ſaid, were entitled to every encouragement which good and faithful ſubjects could deſerve, and a wiſe and grateful government could give; oppreſſive laws had hitherto been their only reward: he did not, however, mean to complain; if he did, his generous countrymen would diſavow his complaints: they now ſee Great Britain in diſtreſs; that ſilences their reſentment; and, forgetful of their wrongs, unſolicited they now make a tender of their lives and fortunes for our ſervice. If our narrow policy had not kept them low, they would ſend over ſomething more ſubſtantial than addreſſes; we ſhould ſee their armies arrive here for our defence. Would the Parliament of Great Britain ſuffer every ſentiment of gratitude and juſtice to be inactive in their breaſts? Would they become deaf to the voice of policy? He truſted, he was ſure, they would not; and he had not a doubt but the Houſe would give ample proof that they were not void of diſcernment to ſee, nor of inclination to reward merit. He had taken a view of all the laws which bare hard on Ireland, and, truſting to the juſtice and humanity of the Houſe, he had drawn up a few reſolutions which he hoped the committee would adopt. Some oppoſition would, he feared, ariſe from a quarter from which he could never have expected it, he meant from the Weſt-India planters, but could not conceive why they ſhould oppoſe a relaxation of the trade laws reſpecting Ireland; he knew ſeveral gentlemen who had plantations in the iſlands; they told him, that they could alledge nothing againſt the expediency of the meaſure he was now about to propoſe. He diſcovered, indeed, that the planters were much in the power of the merchants here; that the two and a half commiſſion on the ſugars exported from this kingdom to Ireland was too lucrative to be given up. He did not doubt but the Houſe would diſregard any oppoſition from ſuch ſelfiſh views; he would not, however, have any thing in his motions which could poſſibly be oppoſed; he would make them in ſuch a manner, as he hoped would gain them the unanimous approbation of the committee;

committee; a circumſtance that would make the propoſed indulgence to the Iriſh the more agreeable to that people, and challenge all their gratitude.

His Lordſhip then moved, that the Iriſh might be permitted to ſend on board of Britiſh veſſels, navigated according to law, to the coaſt of Africa, and our ſettlements abroad, all ſorts of Iriſh manufactures, woollen and woollen cloths only excepted.

Mr. *Pelham* profeſſed himſelf a well-wiſher to Ireland; and ſaid, that no man had a greater reſpect for that kingdom than he had; he was not, however, without his doubts, that the preſent meaſure would be highly detrimental to the manufactures of this country; the taxes in Ireland being low, and labour cheap, the Iriſh would be able to underſell us, and thereby ruin ſeveral of our trading towns.

Lord *Beauchamp* begged leave to ſet the honourable gentleman right. The taxes in Ireland were many and high; and, proportionally to the means of paying them, conſiderably greater than in England. Some gentlemen who had travelled into Ireland, had, from the opulence of its metropolis, and the unbounded hoſpitality of the people of faſhion, formed very unjuſt ideas of the real ſtate of the kingdom: it was reduced by oppreſſive laws to a wretched ſituation; their loyalty was, however, ſuperior to every other ſelfiſh conſideration; they ſaw nothing but our danger; and though our acts had baniſhed into foreign countries numbers of their brethren, and left them in a miſerable ſtate, ſtill they were willing to ſtrain every nerve to ſerve us in the moment of diſtreſs: a braver, more generous, and more loyal people was not to be found; he flattered himſelf, therefore, that they would be treated by the Houſe according to their high deſerts.

Sir *Thomas Egerton* was of opinion, that this kingdom would ſuffer by its indulgence in this point; the manufactures of Lancaſhire, in particular, would be ruined; and that county alone would, as he was informed, loſe one hundred thouſand pounds *per annum* in the article of checks only, if the meaſure now propoſed ſhould paſs into a law.

Mr. *T. Townſhend* expreſſed his warm approbation of the motion; was happy to ſee the miſt of prejudice begin to diſperſe; would be happy to give the meaſure a broader bottom: though as ſtedfaſt a Proteſtant as any gentleman in the Houſe, he declared he ſhould be glad to ſee ſome means adopted to grant ſuch indulgences to the Roman Catholics of Ireland, as might attach that great body of men to the preſent

preſent government: their affections had been alienated; he wiſhed to recall them by indulgent behaviour. He hated the Romiſh religion for its perſecuting ſpirit; he would not on that account wiſh to be a perſecutor.

Lord *North* adverting to what Mr. Townſhend had ſaid, declared he would with all his heart concur in any meaſure that could tend to anſwer ſo deſirable an end; but it was not their province; it was the province of the Parliament of Ireland: the laws which were ſo ſevere againſt the Roman Catholics had originated there, and redreſs of domeſtic grievances ſhould of right originate likewiſe from them; and he was of opinion, that the Iriſh Parliament would ſee where the grievance lay, and redreſs it, for there was not any where a people of more liberal ſentiments than the Iriſh.

The penal laws of Ireland were the conſequences of apprehenſion, which, however groundleſs, always adopts the moſt cruel and ſevere policy. The Iriſh complained, and complained with juſtice. Leaving to the candour of their own Parliament to grant ſuch indulgence to the Roman Catholics as their loyalty deſerves, he requeſted the Houſe would agree to that which was in their power, and their province: to relax the trade laws would benefit the Iriſh, and ultimately enrich ourſelves; embarked in the ſame cauſe with us, they could not be called our rivals in trade, but their rivals were our rivals. The exception of woollen cloths he would ſay nothing to; it might not, perhaps, be juſt; but it was a point given up by the Iriſh, and confirmed by an antient compact: if it ſhould be found in the courſe of the proceedings on this buſineſs that any other exceptions were neceſſary, the Houſe no doubt would make them. Upon the whole, the motion ſhould meet his hearty concurrence.

On the queſtion being put, it was carried *nem. con.*

Lord *Nugent* then made another motion, That the Iriſh might be permitted to import all ſorts of ware and merchandiſe from the coaſt of Africa and plantations abroad, indigo, tobacco, and ſugar only excepted. The word ſugar was inſerted by his Lordſhip, merely to prevent an oppoſition from the Weſt-India merchants; but on the motion of Lord Newhaven, it was left out, and the motion paſſed *nem. con.*

Lord *Nugent* again moved, That glaſs manufactured in Ireland might be exported by the Iriſh, except into Great Britain; and that Iriſh cotton yarn might be imported duty-free into Great Britain.

Theſe motions paſſed unanimouſly.

Mr.

Mr. *Burke* then moved, That Iriſh ſail-cloth might be imported into this kingdom duty-free. This motion likewiſe paſſed *nem. con.*

April 8.

Lord *North* acquainted the Houſe, that he had a meſſage from his Majeſty, and he preſented the ſame to the Houſe, and it was read by Mr. Speaker, and is as followeth, *viz.*

"GEORGE R.

"HIS Majeſty being reſtrained by the laws now in being, from making proviſion for his younger children out of the hereditary revenues of the crown; and being deſirous, that competent proviſions may be made for the honourable ſupport and maintenance of his dearly beloved ſons, Prince Frederick Biſhop of Oſnaburgh, Prince William Henry, Prince Edward, Prince Erneſt Auguſtus, Prince Auguſtus Frederick, Prince Adolphus Frederick, and of his dearly beloved daughters, Princeſs Charlotte Auguſta Matilda, Princeſs Auguſta Sophia, Princeſs Eliſabeth, Princeſs Mary, and Princeſs Sophia; and for the honourable maintenance and ſupport of Prince William Frederick, and Princeſs Sophia Matilda, the ſon and daughter of his dearly beloved brother William Henry Duke of Glouceſter; his Majeſty hopes, that he ſhall be enabled, by act of Parliament, to grant an annuity of ſixty thouſand pounds to the ſix princes, and an annuity of thirty thouſand pounds to the five princeſſes; and to grant an annuity of eight thouſand pounds to Prince William Frederick, and an annuity of four thouſand pounds to Princeſs Sophia Matilda, the ſon and daughter of the Duke of Glouceſter; the annuities to his Majeſty's ſons and daughters to take effect after his Majeſty's demiſe, and the annuities to the ſon and daughter of the Duke of Glouceſter to take effect after the death of the Duke of Glouceſter. And his Majeſty recommends the conſideration thereof to this Houſe.

G. R.

Ordered, *nemine contradicente*,

That leave be given to bring in a bill, for enabling his Majeſty to ſettle on their royal highneſſes the Princes Frederick Biſhop of Oſnaburgh, William Henry, Edward Erneſt Auguſtus, Auguſtus Frederick, and Adolphus Frederick, an annuity of ſixty thouſand pounds *per annum*; and alſo to ſettle on their royal highneſſes the Princeſſes Charlotte Auguſta Matilda, Auguſta Sophia, Elizabeth, Mary,

and Sophia, one other annuity of thirty thouſand pounds *per annum*; and alſo to ſettle on his highneſs Prince William Frederick one other annuity of eight thouſand pounds *per annum*, and on her highneſs Princeſs Sophia Matilda one other annuity of four thouſand pounds *per annum*; and that the Lord North, the Lord Barrington, the Lord Beauchamp, Mr. Cornwall, the Lord Weſtcote, the Lord Palmerſton, Mr. Thomas Townſhend, Mr. Burke, Mr. Jenkinſon, Sir Grey Cooper, Mr. Rigby, Mr. Hartly, Mr. Ellis, Lord George Germain, the Earl Nugent, Mr. Baker, Mr. Attorney General, Mr. Solicitor General, and Mr. Robinſon, do prepare and bring in the ſame.

Lord *Midleton* (according to order) reported from the committee of the whole Houſe, to whom it was referred to take into conſideration the ſeveral acts of Parliament relating to the trade and commerce of Ireland, the reſolutions which the committee had directed him to report to the Houſe; which he read in his place, and afterwards delivered in at the table, where the ſame were read, and are as followeth, *viz.*

Reſolved, That it is the opinion of this committee, That all goods, wares, and merchandize, being the produce or manufacture of the kingdom of Ireland, be permitted to be exported directly from the ſaid kingdom, in Britiſh ſhips navigated according to law, to be imported into any of the Britiſh plantations, or to any of the ſettlements belonging to Great Britain on the coaſt of Africa; wool and woollen manufactures only excepted.

Reſolved, That it is the opinion of this committee, That all goods, wares, and merchandize, being the produce of any of the Britiſh plantations, or of any of the ſettlements belonging to Great Britain, on the coaſt of Africa, be permitted to be exported from thence into the ſaid kingdom of Ireland; indigo and tobacco only excepted.

Reſolved, That it is the opinion of this committee, That the proviſions of an act, made in the nineteenth year of his late majeſty, King George the Second, intituled, "An act for granting to his Majeſty ſeveral rates and duties upon glaſs, and upon ſpirituous liquors; and for raiſing a certain ſum of money by annuities, and a lottery, to be charged on the ſaid rates and duties; and for obviating ſome doubts about making out orders at the Exchequer, for the monies advanced upon the credit of the ſalt duties, granted and continued to his Majeſty, by an act of the laſt ſeſſion of Parliament;"

and

and alſo an act, made in the laſt ſeſſion of Parliament, intituled, "An act for granting to his Majeſty a duty upon all ſervants retained or employed in the ſeveral capacities therein mentioned; and for repealing ſeveral rates and duties upon glaſs, impoſed by an act made in the nineteenth year of the reign of his late Majeſty, and for granting to his Majeſty other rates and duties upon glaſs, in lieu thereof; and for the better collecting the duties upon glaſs; and for repealing the ſeveral rates and duties charged by an act, made in the twenty-ninth year of the reign of his ſaid late Majeſty, upon all perſons and bodies politic and corporate, having certain quantities of ſilver plate," which prohibit the exportation of glaſs from Ireland, manufactured in that kingdom, be repealed, with reſpect to ſuch glaſs exported directly from Ireland to any places except to Great Britain.

Reſolved, That it is the opinion of this committee, That the duties now payable on the importation of cotton yarn, being the manufacture of Ireland, into Great Britain, do ceaſe, and be no longer paid.

Reſolved, That it is the opinion of this committee, That all ſail cloth and cordage, of the manufacture of Ireland, be permitted to be imported from Ireland into Great Britain, free of duty.

The firſt reſolution of the committee being read a ſecond time, and an amendment being propoſed to be made thereto, the Houſe was moved, "That the ſtanding order of the Houſe, of the 9th day of April, 1772, "That no bill relating to trade, or the alteration of laws concerning trade, be brought into the Houſe, until the propoſition ſhall have been firſt conſidered in a committee of the whole Houſe, and agreed unto by the Houſe," might be read; and the ſame being read accordingly,

Ordered, That the ſaid reſolution be recommitted to a committee of the whole Houſe.

The ſecond reſolution of the committee being read a ſecond time;

Ordered, That the ſaid reſolution be recommitted to the committee of the whole Houſe, to whom the firſt reſolution is re-committed.

The ſubſequent reſolutions of the committee, being read a ſecond time, were agreed to by the Houſe.

Ordered, That a bill, or bills, be brought in, upon the three laſt of the ſaid reſolutions now agreed to by the Houſe.

April 9.

Mr. *D. Hartley.* Sir, the motions which I ſhall lay before the committee of the ſtate of the nation to day, are nearly to the ſame effect as thoſe which I offered to the conſideration of the Houſe before Chriſtmas. I was then told by the noble Lord at the head of the revenue, that they were more proper for the conſideration of this committee, which was then appointed to ſit upon the ſtate of the nation, than to be brought directly, and in the firſt inſtance, before the Houſe, which in the formal way of ceremonious buſineſs might, perhaps, be true; but as my wiſh was, that the Houſe and the public ſhould be informed in the earlieſt period of the ſeſſion, of the unmeaſurable expence of the American war, I took that opportunity of giving a computation of the total expence, from the beginning of the war to the end of the campaign of the year 1778. There was no objection or refutation then attempted by the firſt Lord of the treaſury, to any of the articles, which are, indeed, inconteſtible. Since that time, this ſubject has been again canvaſſed and diſcuſſed in another Houſe, upon the ſame grounds and documents which I laid before you upon this ſubject before Chriſtmas. I have, therefore, very little more to do now, than to walk over the ground again, and juſt to recite the documents upon which the motions which I ſhall offer to the committee this day are founded.

In computing the expence of this American war, I ſhall ſtate the expence of the navy, army, and ordnance in each year ſince the commencement of the war, and ſubtract from the expence of each year reſpectively, the average expence of the navy, army, and ordnance, in the time of profound peace. The difference will ſhew the expences occaſioned by the war.

The firſt article which it is neceſſary to ſtate, is the ordinary expence of the navy, army, and ordnance, upon the peace eſtabliſhment, under the following heads:

NAVY.	£.
16000 ſeamen - - -	832000
Ordinary of the navy upon an average, from 1764 to 1772 - - -	410000
Ship-building, upon an average, from 1766 to 1770	284000
Carried over	1526000

Brought

Brought over	£. 1526000
Annual increaſe of the navy debt upon 16000 ſeamen, on the average of 1765, 66, 67, 68, 69	111000
Average peace eſtabliſhment for the navy	1637000

ARMY.

Guards, garriſons, and plantations, about	1000000
Chelſea and half pay	230000
Staff, widows, &c.	15000
Extraordinaries of the army, upon an average from 1768 to 1775	269000
Average peace eſtabliſhment for the army	1514000

ORDNANCE.

Ordinary	170000
Extraordinary	50000
Average peace eſtabliſhment for the ordnance	220000

RECAPITULATION.

Average expence in time of peace for the navy	1637000
Ditto for the army	1514000
Ditto for the ordnance	220000
Total peace eſtabliſhment for navy, army and ordnance	3371000

Having thus got a computation of the ordinary peace eſtabliſhment, I have taken out from the journals the amount of the expences incurred in each year ſince the commencement of the war, each in totals, are as follows:

	1775.	1776.	1777.
Expences of the navy	2496538	4153214	4590458
Ditto of the army	2206457	4799008	4003948
Ditto of the ordnance	451230	522360	620594
Total navy, army, and ordnance, for each year	5154225	9474582	9215000
Deduct for the peace eſtabliſhment	3371000	3371000	3371000
Exceſs	£. 1783225	6103582	5844000

The ſums already voted for the preſent year 1778, are as follow:

	£.
For the navy	4005895
For the army	2842557
For the ordnance	382816
	7231268
Articles to be added upon computation, *viz.* militia	500000
Expences upon the vote of credit and for extraordinaries of the army in 1778	2500000
Encreaſe of the navy-debt in 1778	2000000
Extras for the ordnance in 1778	400000
Total navy, army, and ordnance, for 1778	12631268
Deduct the ordinary peace eſtabliſhment	3371000
Exceſs in 1778	£. 9260268

Theſe are the exceſſes of the ſeveral years of this war above the current peace eſtabliſhment, *viz.*

	£.
Exceſs for 1775	1783000
1776	6103000
1777	5844000
1778	9260000
	22990000

But this is by no means the whole, for beſides theſe expences which appear under the reſpective heads of account in each year, there muſt remain immenſe arrears upon the winding up of bottoms at the concluſion of any war, even if it be ſuppoſed that this fatal American war, with all its conſequences, could be brought to an end with the preſent year. In making an eſtimate of this article, we muſt look at the experience of the laſt war, which produced arrears and unliquidated demands to the amount of near 10,000,000 *l.* In the preſent caſe, the great diſtance of the ſcene of action will enhance every article, being in a country where during the laſt war every thing was friendly and aſſiſting you, but now unfortunately totally the reverſe. The charge of paying the troops till they can be brought home, and before they can be diſbanded, particularly the foreign troops, for ſome of which we are to pay even twelve months after they are returned into their own country; the expence of re-conveying our army, artillery,

artillery, and ſtores acroſs the Atlantic, and ſending the foreigners to Germany, with all our ſubſidies, arrears, and demands of every ſort, which will be coming in upon us from year to year, and probably a war with the houſe of Bourbon, cannot be eſtimated at leſs than the ſum of 10,000,000 *l.* Therefore the total expence will ſtand thus,

	£.
For the exceſſes of the navy, army, and ordnance, above the current peace eſtabliſhment, as arranged under the reſpective years 1775, 1776, 1777, 1778 - - -	22,990,000
Arrears by computation, after the cloſe of the war, ſuppoſing it to be brought to a termination by the end of the year 1778 - -	10,000,000
	£. 32,990,000

This ſum, enormous as it is, will, I fear, be very ſhort of the reality. At what rate ſhall I ſet the loſs and deſtruction of the trade of this country, with all its rich reſources and produce? At what rate ſhall I ſet the loſs of thirteen provinces, once the pride and ſtrength of the parent-ſtate? At what rate ſhall I ſet the ruin of the Britiſh navy, which has hitherto been the bulwark and ſafeguard of this country? At what rate ſhall I ſet the lives of many thouſands of Britiſh ſubjects, whoſe valour might have been reſerved for the defence of their country, inſtead of being thrown away in the attempt to entail ſlavery upon the new world? Theſe are loſſes not to be eſtimated in the vile traſh of pounds, ſhillings, and pence. When will theſe follies come to an end? The trade, the revenues, and all the ſtrength and reſources of this country, are ſacrificed to the purſuit of this mad and ruinous war. We have already waſted as much money as the principal of a three ſhilling land-tax mortgaged for ever would amount to. The intereſt of thirty-three millions, at only four per cent. is 1,320,000 *l.* per annum, which is more than the nett produce of three ſhillings in the pound upon land.

It is endleſs to be for ever recapitulating all the grievances and follies of this war. It is more than ſimply ſelf-deſtruction, it is ruin twice told; for it is not only cutting off our marine and commerce, but it is throwing both from out our own hands into the lap of our enemies. America is the ſource of the Britiſh marine; three ſhips out of four, upon which the Britiſh commerce is navigated, are of American building. That marine, and that commerce, which once

were ours, are driven from our ports into thoſe of France. Public credit muſt in the end ſink under ſuch conduct. When the commerce and the marine of this country are deſtroyed, all the means of ſupporting public credit are gone. Our merchants are cruſhed, and not ſupported by the government they live under; what can we expect but perpetual bankruptcies, with which every Gazette is now filled? Even ſince the commencement of the preſent ſeſſion, the public funds are fallen 25 per cent. the three per cents are fallen from 80 and upwards, down to 60: that fall is the deſtruction of twenty millions of property. Three and thirty millions may, by computation, be ſet as the oſtenſible expence of the war: but it is only a ſmall part of the total of the deſtruction of property occaſioned by the war; twenty millions more of the property of the ſtockholders have been annihilated in a few months. The price of land is fallen in the ſame proportion. What is the landed gentleman to do, who is called upon to diſcharge a mortgage which may be upon his eſtate? He muſt ſell his land, perhaps, at twenty or twenty-five years purchaſe, inſtead of thirty or thirty-five, and his pittance which remains muſt ſtand the brunt of taxation accumulated in every ſhape. The havock and ruin of this curſed American war overtake us at every turn. Neither the landed man, nor the merchant, nor the manufacturer, nor the widow, nor the orphan, can eſcape its fury. All theſe curſes are entailed upon us by the continuance of the American war. The adviſers and conductors of this war have a heavy account to anſwer for to their country. There are thirty or forty thouſand ſeamen loſt to this country; thirty or forty thouſand land forces deſtroyed; between thirty and forty millions of money waſted and conſumed; one hundred ſhips of capital force cut off from our natural ſtrength; whole armies ſwallowed up; and all this to purchaſe the loſs of thirteen colonies; and, perhaps, when we have ſtripped ourſelves of our natural powers of defence, we may invite an invaſion at home, and bring the ſeat of war to our own coaſts. Surely, therefore, upon the ſum total of the experience which we have ſo dearly bought, and upon the certain proſpect of all the farther evils which threaten this country, I am juſtly entitled to recommend it, as the opinion of this committee, that it is unbecoming the wiſdom and prudence of Parliament to proceed any farther in the ſupport of this fruitleſs, expenſive, and deſtructive American war.

I never

I never can refrain again and again from preſſing upon you the neceſſity of an immediate peace with America. There is nothing that can deſtroy the powers and faculties of this country but its being divided againſt itſelf. Give us peace with America, and we ſhall be ourſelves again. Give us again our American family compact, and I ſhall be the laſt man to fear the houſe of Bourbon; and with reaſon, for confidence ſhould not be vain and viſionary, but ſhould take reaſonable grounds for its foundation. The unfortunate treaty which is already too far advanced between France and America, may poſſibly deprive us of the aſſiſtance of America in any conteſt with France, even if you were to make peace with America this moment. But in any caſe we ſhould at leaſt recover to our uſe an hundred ſhips of force, which are now cut off from us; we might recover the uſe of thirty or forty thouſand men both by land and ſea, either for defence or for offence, if neceſſary. If you would make peace with America upon equal and fair terms, trade would again return to your ports, and public credit would thereby feel the means of ſupport. And beſides this, what is beyond every thing elſe in national operations, unanimity would give vigour to our councils. Foreign powers, inſtead of deſpiſing us for our folly, and lying in wait to take advantage of the waſting of our ſtrength, ſhould ſtand in awe of the powers of this country, when conducted upon the principles of wiſdom and juſtice, and would abandon the thoughts of any inſults or attack upon the honour or rights of this country. They have felt and ſhrunk under its power when united, and conducted by an able adminiſtration. The means are ſtill the ſame, if there were the ſame wiſdom in our councils.

No man can charge me with diſparaging the powers and faculties of my country; my ſentiments have always been the very reverſe, that they exiſt in all their vigour, but that they are miſapplied. They are not directed againſt the natural enemies of this country but againſt itſelf. I would wiſh that this diſtinction ſhould make an impreſſion upon the minds of the committee, and of the public, and of all foreign courts. If you would be prevailed upon to relinquiſh this fatal war, all would be well. There would then be no ground or occaſion left for a war with France, or with any part of the houſe of Bourbon. And if they were either ſo unreaſonable, or ſo unwiſe, as unneceſſarily to provoke a war, we ſhould be well prepared, and capable of reſenting every inſult, and of repelling every attack upon the national honour. But

it

it is our folly alone that tempts them. I have pleaded ſo zealouſly for the reſtoration of peace with America that I wiſh to attach the explanation with it, as not undervaluing the powers of this country in reſpect to any foreign nations if we were at peace with ourſelves. It is no diſparagement to any country to adviſe them againſt impoſſibilities. Give us peace with America, and there is nothing under heaven that this country needs to fear. For theſe reaſons I have drawn up a particular reſolution expreſſive of this well-grounded confidence, if ſuch meaſures of wiſdom are purſued by which the national faculties and exertions may be reſerved for the juſt and neceſſary occaſions of ſupporting its own dignity, and defending its own rights, inſtead of profuſely laviſhing them away in the purſuits of injuſtice, folly, and madneſs.

But it may be ſaid, How ſhall we obtain peace, and upon what terms? We would have an honourable peace. And ſo we may, for who makes war with us? It depends upon ourſelves. We have only to relinquiſh our folly and quixotiſm, and there is an end. It is the madneſs of the undertaking, and the obſtinacy of perſevering even after conviction, that is diſhonourable. The diſhonour comes from them who would precipitate their country into impoſſibilities, who adviſed the King not even to give an anſwer to the united petition of all America, when they were at the feet of this country ſeeking for juſtice. You ſpurned them from you with indignation. It was the miniſtry of this country who would admit of no reaſonable or conſtitutional terms. I ſay, reaſonable and conſtitutional terms, becauſe I preſume that the miniſtry themſelves will ſo denominate the terms which have been lately voted in this Houſe in thoſe conciliatory bills which have received the unanimous ſanction of the legiſlature. If thoſe terms are reaſonable and conſtitutional now, then they always were ſo; yet theſe bills contain neither more nor leſs than the very offers which were made to this country from the Congreſs in their laſt petition three years ago. Many and many propoſitions, tantamount to theſe, have been made by the oppoſers of this mad war, but the miniſtry have always cruſhed them by an inflexible influence in the counſels of this Houſe. I myſelf did, more than three years ago, viz. upon the 27th of March 1775, offer to this Houſe the very identical terms, or nearly ſo, which are contained in your late conciliatory acts, and which were taken as the foundation of the petition of the Congreſs in the month of July 1775. The draught of a letter of requiſition

to

to the colonies in the uſual and accuſtomed manner, which I then laid before you, might have made peace at that time, for thoſe terms were accepted by the Congreſs in their petition to the King and addreſs to the people of Great Britain, a few months after. That they were reaſonable and conſtitutional terms I am juſtified now at leaſt to ſay, becauſe in your late conciliatory acts they have received the unanimous ſanction of the legiſlature. I hope therefore that I may ſtand acquit for one, as never having ſacrificed the honour of this country by any mean or unbecoming propoſal. It is not towards thoſe who have oppoſed this mad war, that you are to look as the cauſes of the irkſome ſituation in which you find yourſelves now. If our advice had been followed, things would not now be as they are. Many thouſands of lives, many millions of money would have been ſaved to this country, much honour and proſperity would have been its lot, inſtead of the diſtraction in which we now ſee ourſelves involved.

You are to thank your miniſters for having led you to the diſhonour of refuſing the reaſonable and conſtitutional terms of accommodation offered by your colonies in the year 1775. That was the fatal æra which gave an inflexible obſtinacy to the councils of this nation, to require abſolute and unconditional ſubmiſſion before you would treat. The preſent miniſter of the American department entered into his office, with the public avowal of theſe principles. All Europe was ranſacked for mercenaries to impoſe unconditional ſubmiſſion upon your colonies. What then was there left for them to do, but to ſeek their ſafety in independence and foreign alliances. It was the miniſtry of this country which drove the Americans into foreign alliances, by the example of hiring foreign troops, and which reduced them to the alternative of unconditional ſubmiſſion or independence. In this dilemma they choſe the latter; and in ſuch a dilemma they ſhould have made no other choice. If you would have conceded to them reaſonable and conſtitutional terms of connexion, they did over and over again diſavow every wiſh or claim of independence. It is the adminiſtration of this country who have forced them into independence; they now poſſeſs it, nor is it in your power to wreſt it from them. Let it be remembered who drove their country to ſet the whole upon this deſperate caſt. By the advice of your miniſters you ſet all prudent counſels at defiance, and by the folly of their conduct you have loſt America.

We

We may have peace with America if we chuſe it, but not upon the terms that we might have had it at the time when the petition from the congreſs was rejected, nor even upon the terms that we might have had ſix months ago. The only rule that we ſeem to follow, is, to refuſe the terms which may be had at the time, till it becomes too late, and then we ſee our folly. I myſelf told the adminiſtration in this very place before Chriſtmas, that there was an opening to treat, by which they might have prevented the treaty between France and America. The conduct of the French court towards the Americans had been ſo deceitful and unſatisfactory, as gave the greateſt diſguſt. I informed them that they might hit the blot, and take advantage of it. My words in this Houſe were, *Do it before you ſleep.* They ſlept and did it not. They prevailed upon the Houſe to adjourn itſelf for two months, and the time was loſt. If nothing leſs than independence will now do, you muſt thank the adminiſtration who have driven things to all extremities. You have tried the event of three campaigns, and have failed in all. You have loſt an entire army, you have likewiſe loſt your time to recruit and augment that which remains, and the moſt probable proſpect for Sir William Howe's army is, that they may ſhare the ſame fate with that under General Burgoyne, unleſs you have the prudence to withdraw it in time.

I grieve to ſee that things are come to ſo deſperate a paſs; none of the meaſures which have brought us to it, had my concurrence or conſent. I would have adviſed far others. At preſent there is no other advice left to be given, but to concede and to confirm that independence to America, which you have forced upon them. I know that you will not conſent to this, and that all counſel is vain; but I know likewiſe that the time will come when you will think it a good bargain to make peace with America, ſimply upon the terms of independence. I would adviſe the repeal of the Canada act, but I know likewiſe that this will not be done; yet the time may come when this act may be repealed without your conſent. Look to Canada, and perhaps to the Floridas. It might likewiſe be worth while to think of your Weſt Indian iſlands. You have driven America into an alliance with the Houſe of Bourbon. Look to the conſequences.

For my own part I can only give the advice of a ſingle and inſignificant individual. I would ſeek the alliance and friendſhip of America. I would cement the two countries together by a mutual naturalization, in all rights and franchiſes

franchiſes to the fulleſt extent. We are derived from the ſame ſtock; we have the ſame religion, the ſame manners, the ſame language, the ſame temper, the ſame love of liberty and of independence; and if we muſt be ſeemingly divided, let there at leaſt be an union in that partition. To thoſe who might otherwiſe have a reluctance to the conceſſion of American independence, let this ſerve as the more liberal equivalent, Give up freely the leſs generous claim of an irkſome and ſterile dominion, and put the padlock on the mind.

Sir, I have nothing farther to trouble the Houſe with, but to return them my thanks for their great indulgence, in having given me a patient hearing. I will, with their permiſſion, read to the committee the motions which I have to make, and in the order that I propoſe to offer them. They are as follow:

" That it is the opinion of this committee, that the expence of proſecuting the American war for another campaign, in the year 1778, more eſpecially if, in conſequence thereof, this country ſhould be involved in any foreign wars, added to the expences already incurred in the American war, may probably amount to a ſum not leſs than between thirty and forty millions ſterling, which muſt create an alarming increaſe of the principal and intereſt of the national debt, and muſt require many additional heavy and burdenſome taxes, land taxes as well as other taxes, upon the Britiſh ſubjects to defray.

" That it is the opinion of this committee, that the proſecution of the American war muſt be deſtructive of the navigation, trade, riches, and reſources of this country, as well as of the lives of his Majeſty's ſubjects, carrying our land and ſea forces the diſtance of 3000 miles, and thereby laying us open to the inſults or attack of any ſecret or inſidious enemy to this country.

" That it is the opinion of this committee, that among the various cauſes which may contribute to depreſs the national funds, or to embarraſs the ſtate of public credit, and to weaken the reſources of this country, the hoſtile diſunion and diviſion of America againſt Great Britain muſt probably be more operative to ſuch fatal effects, than the proſecution of any juſt and neceſſary war againſt a foreign enemy.

" That it is the opinion of this committee, that it is unbecoming the wiſdom and prudence of Parliament to proceed

" any

" any farther in the profecution of this fruitleſs, expenſive
" and deſtructive American war.

" That it is the opinion of this committee, that there is
" no reaſon to doubt the ſufficiency of the powers of this
" country, or the moſt animated coercion of them, when diſ-
" engaged from this fatal American war; and under the con-
" duct of a prudent and vigilant adminiſtration effectually to
" reſent every inſult, and to repel every attack, upon the ho-
" nour of his Majeſty's crown, and upon the eſſential intereſts
" of his kingdom, in the proſecution of any juſt and neceſſary
" war, againſt a foreign enemy.

" That an humble addreſs be preſented to his Majeſty,
" that he will graciouſly be pleaſed to inſtruct the commiſ-
" ſioners appointed to treat, conſult, and agree upon the
" means of quieting the diſorders now ſubſiſting in certain of
" the colonies, plantations, and provinces of North America,
" to eſtabliſh, as a fundamental, previous to any treaty, and
" from which they ſhall not have liberty to depart, that all
" perſons, born either in Great Britain, Ireland, or the colo-
" nies, provinces, and plantations of North America, ſhall be
" conſidered as natural-born ſubjects, and enjoy all rights and
" privileges as ſuch, throughout all the ſaid dominions in
" common, in the manner heretofore accuſtomed."

Lord *North* objected to the motions in the groſs as well as in detail. He could not agree to the firſt, from its being erroneouſly ſtated, as well as from its depending on probability, and its indefinite amount. A ſum between 30 and 40 millions was very indefinite; but the error in the ſtating was the moſt conſiderable objection. The fact was, that the expence of the three laſt years was no more than 18,000,000l. or thereabouts, and the additions at the end of the campaign, would be 5,000,000l. This he ſaid he could prove, by enumerating the addition to the national debt and other articles. The addition to the national debt was 13,000,000l. The increaſe of the land-tax was 500,000l. a year, that made it 14,500,000l. The increaſe of the navy debt was about a million and an half, that made it 16,000,000l. and the ſum which we ſhould have ſaved in caſe of peace, and which would have gone to pay off a part of the national debt, might be taken on an average at 900,000l. a year. So that the ſum it has already coſt us is no more than 18,700,000l. The unfunded debt for the preſent year will be no more than three millions, and the other out-goings altogether would make up no greater a ſum than about twenty-three million five hundred thouſand pounds.

He

He adverted to the honourable gentleman's arguments on the laſt loan. The reaſon for his meaning to give the ſubſcribers douceurs, at a time when the ſtocks had conſiderably decreaſed, was, that they might in future truſt to the honour of Parliament. The firſt depoſit had not been made, nor was there any compulſion upon them to make good their ſubſcriptions. They would have been loſers to have made it good, as the ſtocks then ſtood; and as Parliament muſt, ſooner or later, have made good the deficiency, he thought it provident to give them a further advantage, which would have ſuperſeded the neceſſity of having the aid from Parliament next ſeſſion, as well as brought future ſubſcribers forward, by ſhewing that they dealt honourably with them.

He could not agree with the gentleman, that it would be good policy to keep five millions reſerved in the Exchequer, while ſo heavy a load of debt hangs upon the nation. It might indeed be advantageous to have ſuch a ſum in reſerve, as a neſt-egg, when we went to market, or as a proviſion for a rainy day, when we could not go; but he conſidered it impoſſible to accompliſh ſuch an object in the preſent ſtate of our finances.

He could not, from the moſt impartial review of his conduct, conſider it as criminal. His heart muſt be excuſed, though his head might be to blame. With the beſt and wiſeſt intention, an erroneous conduct might be joined. In a particular manner he juſtified the meaſure of the Quebec act. After the moſt ſerious deliberation on the nature of the people, he conſidered it moſt prudent and politic to give them the form of government they now enjoy. Not fitted to receive into their ſtate an epitome of our original conſtitution, he formed a ſyſtem partly of our own, and partly of the French government, merely as a preliminary to the introduction of a ſolid ſyſtem, by a popular aſſembly. He thought that the civil law of France, to which they had originally belonged, joined to the criminal law of Britain, which is a greater ſecurity to the ſubject than that of the French, would jointly form a ſyſtem, favourable as a preliminary, until a more regular one could be granted.

He concluded with moving for the chairman to leave the chair.

The queſtion was then called to leave the chair, which was carried.

Lord

Lord *Midleton* (according to order) reported from the committee of the whole Houſe, to whom the firſt and ſecond of the reſolutions, which were yeſterday reported from the committee of the whole Houſe, to whom it was referred to take into conſideration the ſeveral acts of Parliament relating to the trade and commerce of Ireland, were re-committed, the reſolutions which the committee had directed him to report to the Houſe; which he read in his place, and afterwards delivered in at the table, where the ſame were read, and are as followeth, *viz.*

Reſolved, That it is the opinion of this committee, that all goods, wares, and merchandize, being the produce or manufacture of the kingdom of Ireland, or commodities of the growth, produce, or manufacture of Great Britain, legally imported into Ireland, or foreign certificate goods legally imported from Great Britain into Ireland, be permitted to be exported directly from the ſaid kingdom, in Britiſh ſhips navigated according to law, to be imported into any of the Britiſh plantations, or to any of the ſettlements belonging to Great Britain on the coaſt of Africa, wool and woollen manufactures only excepted.

Reſolved, That it is the opinion of this committee, that all goods, wares, and merchandize, being the produce of any of the Britiſh plantations, or of any of the ſettlements belonging to Great Britain on the coaſt of Africa, be permitted to be exported from thence into the ſaid kingdom of Ireland, tobacco only excepted.

Mr. *Burke* moved, that the reſolution be recommitted to a committee of the whole Houſe.

The ſubſequent reſolution was agreed to by the Houſe. The Houſe reſolved itſelf immediately into a committee, to conſider of the firſt of the reſolutions. Mr. Burke's amendment was agreed to; and the Houſe being reſumed, Lord Midleton reported the reſolution as follows:

Reſolved, That all goods, wares, and merchandize, being the produce or manufacture of the kingdom of Ireland, wool and woollen manufactures only excepted, or commodities of the growth, produce, or manufacture of Great Britain, legally imported into Ireland, or foreign certificate goods legally imported from Great Britain into Ireland, be permitted to be exported directly from the ſaid kingdom in Britiſh ſhips navigated according to law, to be imported into any of the Britiſh plantations, or to any of the ſettlements belonging to Great Britain on the coaſt of Africa.

Sir

Sir *Cecil Wray*, on the ſecond reſolve, begged the Houſe to proceed on ſo intereſting a matter with the utmoſt caution. He thought it very imprudent to proceed in it at this late ſeaſon of the year, when the Houſe was very thin, and the kingdom could not be enough advertiſed of their proceedings. Were theſe propoſitions introduced into the committee merely to try the pulſe of the nation, and to lie over in the form of reſolutions to the next ſeſſion, he would be moſt agreeable to that procedure, becauſe thereby every one would have leiſure to conſider, and the Houſe would be full to diſcuſs the matter.

Mr. *Connoly* ſaid, though an Iriſhman, and much of his property lay in Ireland, it was not from mere local conſiderations that he lent his hand to the work: he was convinced that the advantages propoſed by the bill for the Iriſh, would turn out in the end to the benefit of Great Britain. As a member of the Britiſh empire, he did not deem it a matter of ſufficient weight to prevent the bill from paſſing into a law, that a part of the kingdom might be a little injured, provided the general good of the whole was promoted by it.

Mr. *Jenkinſon* ſaid, there would be good time, by the intervention of the holidays, to give the nation time to conſider and ſtart their objections to it.

Lord *North* was of the ſame opinion; but hoped that no new propoſitions would be grafted upon it, but that it would paſs in its preſent form.

Sir *Cecil Wray* then declared, that as the *fiat* of the noble Lord had determined it to paſs this ſeſſion, he would take a decided part in the buſineſs, and ſteadily oppoſe it; and in this he hoped to be aſſiſted by every independent member of the Houſe.

April 10.

Lord *North* preſented to the Houſe (according to order) a "Bill for enabling his Majeſty to ſettle on their royal highneſſes the princes Frederick Biſhop of Oſnaburgh, William Henry, Edward, Erneſt Auguſtus, Auguſtus Frederick, and Adolphus Frederick, an annuity of 60,000*l. per annum*; and alſo to ſettle on their royal highneſſes the princeſſes Charlotte Auguſta Matilda, Auguſta Sophia, Elizabeth, Mary, and Sophia, one other annuity of 30,000*l. per annum*; and alſo to ſettle on his highneſs prince William Frederick one other annuity of 8000*l. per annum*, and on her highneſs the princeſs Sophia Matilda one other annuity

of 4000*l. per annum*;" and the ſame was received, and read the firſt time, and ordered to be read a ſecond time.

The bill having been once read, and Lord North propoſing that it ſhould be read a ſecond time immediately, Lord *Irnham* objected to the ſecond reading of the bill on the ſame day it was firſt read. He thought that hurrying it through the Houſe, was neither a mark of reſpect towards the Duke of Glouceſter, nor towards the princes in the ſucceſſion to the crown. That it would be bad policy as well as unjuſt, at ſuch a time as this, to diſinherit the iſſue of the princes of Brunſwick and Orange, without going through the decent and legal forms of acknowledging and authenticating the marriage of his royal highneſs the Duke of Glouceſter, in order to legitimate his children. And it became the more neceſſary, becauſe the preſent miniſters had occaſioned ſo many reports of their doubts; which, though they only meant as a cloak for perſecution, and to prevent foreign courts from paying the Ducheſs of Glouceſter proper reſpect, might be conſtrued by the princes in the ſucceſſion, to have ariſen from the circumſtances of the inquiry made by the privy council: and as they were going to recognize one marriage, he thought it would be proper to lay before the Houſe the certificate and proofs by witneſs, of the marriage of their royal highneſſes the Duke and Ducheſs of Cumberland.

Mr. *Rigby* roſe to aſk if any man in the Houſe or in the nation had any doubt of the legality of thoſe marriages? That he ſat in the privy council at the time they were inveſtigated—that he had no doubts, and did not wiſh to have a motion which could imply that there were any. He thought it a proper mark of reſpect towards the Duke of Glouceſter, to read the bill a ſecond time the ſame day.

Lord *North* again moved the ſecond reading of the bill, and ſaid, it was uſual to hurry ſuch bills as related to the royal family, in order to ſhew unanimity upon the queſtion.

Mr. *Wilkes*. The very title of the bill, which the noble Lord with the blue ribband has juſt preſented to the Houſe, will give the trueſt pleaſure to the friends of the proteſtant ſucceſſion. A royal family, already ſo numerous, is an invaluable addition to the national ſtrength and importance. Every Engliſhman, who is at heart anxious not only for the permanent, but the perpetual, preſervation of our liberties in the auguſt line of Brunſwick, muſt now enjoy the higheſt ſatisfaction. The alarming fears, which our anceſtors

anceſtors at various periods experienced, from a ſuſpicion of the failure of ſucceſſion to the imperial crown of theſe realms, are not likely to diſturb their poſterity. We live in happier times. The gratitude of this Houſe to Heaven increaſes every year, with the fortunately prolific annual increaſe of the royal offspring *. We triumph in thoſe endearing pledges of our Monarch's love and the public felicity, which an all-bounteous Providence continues to beſtow on this peculiarly favoured nation. The kingdom at large contemplate with rapture his Majeſty's numerous, and ſtill, I hope, increaſing progeny, as inſuring, even beyond our children's children, to the *nati natorum, et qui naſcentur ab illis*, the bleſſings and glories of his reign. It is the duty of his faithful Commons here to do more—to provide for them in a manner adequate to their exalted birth and royal dignity.

The meſſage, Sir, from the crown points out to us the proviſion, and the mode of it, which is deſired. I give my hearty conſent to the grant. It will be a grant worthy of the Engliſh nation, worthy of the great perſonages in whom we have now ſo important an intereſt; and hereafter, I truſt, we may claim a ſhare of their future fame and glory. Yet, Sir, I regret, that it is not made a certain proviſion for them during his Majeſty's life, and the Duke of Glouceſter's, as well as during the life of the Prince of Wales, or the ſucceſſors of the reigning monarch. It is only to take effect after the demiſe of the crown. Sir, if I underſtand the bill in your hand, it compels the Prince of Wales to grant out of the hereditary revenues of the crown the annual ſum of 60,000*l.* to the King's ſons, 30,000*l.* to his daughters, and 12,000*l.* to the children of the Duke of Glouceſter, during their reſpective lives; but no permanent proviſion is made for them during the preſent reign, or the life of the Duke of Glouceſter. The bill effectually ties up the hands of the ſucceſſor, but leaves the prince on the throne the option of any proviſion for the children and nephews of the crown during the life of his preſent Majeſty, and his next

* In the ſame ſeſſion, by the votes of Nov. 21, 1777, it appears that the Houſe "reſolved, that a congratulatory meſſage be ſent to the Queen on the birth of another princeſs—to aſſure her Majeſty that this Houſe will ever retain the trueſt ſentiments of duty and attachment to a Queen—to whom this nation owes ſo many bleſſings."

brother. I deſire to be ſet right, if I have miſtated the bill, which has juſt been read to the Houſe.

Lord *North* then ſaid, The honourable gentleman is certainly right. The King will not be obliged to make any proviſion by this bill for any part of the royal family, during his own life and that of the Duke of Glouceſter. Mr. *Wilkes* then added,

I ſubmit, Sir, to the Houſe, that in this reſpect the bill is imperfect. The proviſion for the younger branches of the royal family is not an immediate certain proviſion, but to take effect at a future period. They are left, at the preſent moment, without the ſmalleſt fixed revenue or ſupport, independent of the crown. The ſovereign makes no grant. We are taking away, without his conſent, during his minority, a part of the hereditary revenue of the Prince of Wales, for the future maintenance of his brothers, ſiſters, and the more remote branches.

The example of this generoſity is not given by the father and the ſovereign to his firſt ſubject, although it comes in the mode of a paternal precept. We leave them now in a ſtate of the moſt abſolute dependence on the crown, on the caprice of the ſovereign, or perhaps the mercy of the miniſter. The bill, therefore, in my opinion, ought to be extended to a ſettlement of the ſame revenues to take place immediately, and to be ſecured by the fulleſt parliamentary grants irrevocably. The ſtrong ties of blood in the firſt degree muſt in this caſe coincide powerfully with the wiſhes of the people. I may ſurely, Sir, leave in all ſafety to the ſervants of the crown ſo acceptable a ſervice to the beſt of princes and of parents.

A circumſtance, Sir, of the utmoſt importance ſeems on this occaſion to have been entirely neglected by miniſters. It is remarkable that the children of his Majeſty's next brother, the Duke of Glouceſter, are recogniſed and provided for by this bill, before there has been a notification in any way to Parliament, or to the public, of his royal highneſs's marriage. I have not, Sir, the leaſt doubt of the legality of that marriage, but I know that ſtrong doubts have formerly been entertained, even by ſome of the preſent miniſters. The noble Lord with the blue ribbon is as ill informed on this ſubject as he has been all along reſpecting America, when he ventures to aſſert, that no man now has the leaſt doubt remaining. In conſequence of the general uncertainty in the minds of the nation a very few years ago, the privy council entered upon the inquiry of the legality

of

of the Duke of Glouceſter's marriage. They received evidence, which, it is reported, ſatisfied them; but as that evidence has never been communicated to either Houſe of Parliament, a degree of ſcepticiſm I know has continued. I wiſh it removed. It will be, undoubtedly, when Parliament ſhall be treated by miniſters with reſpect, when the great council of the nation ſhall be furniſhed with the proofs, which flaſhed conviction on the minds of the privy council. The repreſentatives of the people, Sir, have ſurely a right to examine into every thing reſpecting the ſucceſſion to the imperial crown of theſe realms, becauſe they, in conjunction with the other two branches of the legiſlature, have, by an expreſs act of Parliament *, the power to make laws and ſtatutes of ſufficient force and validity to limit and bind the crown, and the deſcent, limitation, inheritance, and government thereof. The maintaining the contrary doctrine by writing or printing is declared a ſpecies of high-treaſon; and whatever ſlaviſh poſitions of hereditary †, divine,

* 6 Anne, ch. vii. ſ. 1.

† It is neceſſary ſometimes to remind the tools of an arbitrary court that there can be no right to the imperial crown of theſe realms but a parliamentary right. The mere hereditary right would be ſtronger in the houſe of Savoy, and even in that of Bourbon, than in the Brunſwick line. This will appear from the following ſhort genealogical table.

1. Charles I.	1. James I.
2. Henrietta Maria, Ducheſs of Orleans.	2. Elizabeth, Electreſs Palatine, Queen of Bohemia.
3. Anna Maria, Ducheſs of Savoy, wife of Victor Amadeus II. proteſted 1700. Houſe of Savoy.	3. Sophia, Electreſs of Brunſwick.
4. Marie-Adelaide, Ducheſs of Burgundy, afterwards Dauphineſs.	4. George I. Houſe of Brunſwick.
5. Louis XV. Houſe of Bourbon.	

indefeaſible right, may be adopted in deſpotic countries, and by modern courtiers here, the people of England in general conſider their crown as the free gift of the nation on their own terms and conditions *. We know that the crown is not in the gift of the reigning prince. He is only tenant for life, if he obſerves the original compact.

The people, Sir, in conſequence, poſſeſs the right to be informed of whatever reſpects the ſucceſſion. All we know as to the marriages of the King's brothers amounts to this, that they were private and clandeſtine, and that no proof of their legality has hitherto been given to the nation. The proofs of thoſe marriages ought to be communicated to Parliament, while the parties are ſtill alive, and the witneſſes with us to be examined. The facts may now be aſcertained with preciſion. If any doubts have been ſuggeſted in this age, they may be removed by thoſe living witneſſes, to whom no recourſe can be had in ſucceeding times. I regret that there are ſo many hiſtoric doubts in our hiſtory †. Poſterity

---

If the Parliament had not changed the order of ſucceſſion to the crown, the houſe of Savoy would have ſucceeded, for their right is derived from the daughter of Charles I. whereas the Brunſwick line are deſcended from the daughter of James I. a degree more removed. The gift of the crown is in the Parliament, in the people by their repreſentatives.

* The firſt king of the houſe of Brunſwick appeared to acknowledge this with gratitude, when he took for the motto of his coronation medal, *Volentes per populos*. The motto of the preſent King, *Patriæ ovanti*, was not ſo happily choſen. The ovation is deſcribed as the ſmaller triumph, of which the poor ſacrifice was a ſheep, *ovis*. It ſhould ſeem almoſt prophetic of the American war, for Aulus Gellius tells us, "*ovandi*, ac non *triumphandi*, cauſa eſt, quum aut *bella non rite indicta, neque cum juſto hoſte geſta ſunt.*"

At the ovation a crown of myrtle, not of laurel, was uſed. The ſame learned Roman ſays, "quod non *Martius*, ſed quaſi *Venerius* quidam triumphus foret." This, too, may ſeem prophetic of the preſent reign, and of the numerous royal progeny.

† Mr. Horace Walpole publiſhed in 1768 an excellent quarto, intituled, Hiſtoric Doubts on the Life and Reign of King Richard the Third. The intent of this ſpeech ſeems to be the prevention of all hiſtoric doubts on the events of the reign of George the Third. Mr. Walpole ſays, page 40, "The doubts on the validity

terity has this juſt claim on the preſent generation, that our fields may not be again deluged with the blood of a brave people in a fatal civil conteſt. Should the ſmalleſt degree of ſcepticiſm now exiſt, the progreſs of it, if not timely checked, is known to be rapid, and it will acquire ſtrength even from the general deſtroyer, Time. The fulleſt light ought now to be thrown on a tranſaction hitherto covered with clouds and darkneſs.

This inquiry, Sir, I likewiſe conſider as a point of national honour and juſtice to ſeveral foreign princes, who are allied by marriage to the crown of Great Britain. The houſe of Naſſau, to whom we owe the reſtorer of our violated conſtitution, the king of Denmark, the princes of Brunſwick and Heſſe, and others of the proteſtant line, are actually in the parliamentary entail of the crown. They will think that we are proceeding in a very irregular manner, when we make ſettlements on the children of the King's next brother, as legal heirs of the crown after the children of the King, before the marriage of his royal highneſs has been publicly recognized.

Sir, in this bill I ſhould have been happy if there had been a clauſe reſpecting her royal highneſs the Ducheſs of Glouceſter, for whom no eſtabliſhment is mentioned, although the bill contains a proviſion for her two children. The honour of the nation, and the ſplendour of the Britiſh crown, call upon us to proceed to aſcertain an adequate proviſion, and for life, for the wives of the royal brothers. It would have naturally taken place in a bill of this nature, conſecrated to the Brunſwick line, the elected of Heaven, and the people, as the protectors of our liberties, if miniſters had adopted the ſame liberality of ſentiment, which pervades the nation. Is this Parliament doomed, Sir, to counteract the wiſhes of a whole kingdom? or is it meant to attempt the ſubjecting every branch of the royal family to the ſame ſervility, which has characteriſed the preſent majority in this Houſe.

There is not, Sir, a private gentleman among us who has not painful ideas, from the precarious ſituation of the two

validity of Edward's marriage were better grounds for Richard's proceedings than aſperſion of his mother's honour. On that invalidity he claimed the crown, and obtained it; and with ſuch univerſal concurrence, that the nation was undoubtedly on his ſide."

royal ducheſſes, almoſt unparalleled in any family of diſtinction. They have ſtill to expect, from the merited eſteem of the nation, an eſtabliſhment adequate to their high rank, and the additional luſtre it has received from their unexceptionable, I might ſay, exemplary conduct. I hope ſuch a proviſion will be made, and I am very happy that the worthy baronet [Sir James Lowther] near me has given the Houſe aſſurances of his moving it in Parliament, if it continues to be neglected by adminiſtration. The motion will come from him with weight and dignity, nor can there be a doubt of his generous endeavours being crowned with ſucceſs.

To facilitate, Sir, ſo important a buſineſs, the previous ſtep I have mentioned ſeems neceſſary. Every communication ought to be made to Parliament, which can elucidate a matter at preſent obſcure, that we may know the ſure grounds on which we proceed. We ſhall then be in poſſeſſion of thoſe clear proofs alluded to, without which I do not think we can with propriety enter upon that clauſe of the bill in your hand, Sir, which reſpects the deſcendants of the Duke of Glouceſter. I therefore hope, Sir, for the concurrence of the Houſe in a motion for "an humble and dutiful addreſs to the King, that his Majeſty would be graciouſly pleaſed to order the proofs of the marriages of their royal highneſſes the Dukes of Glouceſter and Cumberland, to be laid before this Houſe."

Lord *Irnham* ſeconded the motion. His Lordſhip ſaid, though on ſome perſonal conſiderations it muſt be diſagreeable to me to ſpeak on this bill, yet as it is not of a private nature, but concerns the honour and juſtice of the nation at large, I return thanks to the honourable member for his motion, and wiſh the marriages of their royal highneſſes the Dukes of Glouceſter and Cumberland to be fully inveſtigated, eſtabliſhed, and circumſtantially proved to the Parliament and the nation. The right honourable member [Mr. Rigby] ſays, "Who doubts the legality of the Duke of Glouceſter's marriage?" Sir, I ſhould have been leſs ſurpriſed at hearing that ſpoken by any other member than one of the privy council, who muſt either fail in his memory, or agree with me, that reports prevailed that there were doubts of ſufficient proof being eſtabliſhed, before the Lord Chancellor, the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, and the Biſhop of London, ſent to Glouceſter-houſe to examine into the marriage

marriage of his royal highneſs the Duke of Glouceſter, by order of the privy council.

It was ſaid, and it is now avowed in Parliament, that they neither found certificate nor any living evidence to prove the marriage. That upon the report to the privy council, the entry was made in the book "legally married;" but the privy council determined to leave the word *legally* out. Several occurrences followed, which tended to create doubts in men's minds, ſuch as ſending a meſſage to Glouceſter-houſe, upon the Ducheſs proving with child, to propoſe to them to be married again, and afterwards refuſing to bury a child of the Duke of Glouceſter's in Weſtminſter abbey. Theſe reports were propagated by the miniſters. Is it therefore decent or parliamentary, that the ſame miniſters, without firſt quieting the minds of his Majeſty's ſubjects, and laying the evil ſpirit which themſelves had raiſed, ſhould in a moment make Parliament deciſively cut off the legal ſucceſſion of the Houſe of Hanover. I was not the perſon to doubt the marriage, and therefore I call for proofs to be laid before Parliament. I believe miniſters acted in this inſolent manner, in order to have a better pretence for inſulting the Ducheſs of Glouceſter, and to refuſe her a maintenance. It likewiſe anſwered their purpoſes abroad, where the ſame miniſters that now declare there never was a doubt of the Dukes' marriages, dared to repreſent to their ambaſſadors and envoys, that no ſuch marriages were eſtabliſhed in England.

My wiſhes are, that our benevolence towards the royal family may be open, generous, and in a public ſpirited line, becoming the nation and the Parliament. But by concealment of facts, we may raiſe ſuſpicions in the minds of thoſe foreign princes included in the ſucceſſion, whoſe alliance we now ſtand in need of, particularly the prince of Brunſwick, who led our arms to victory laſt war, and ought always to be honoured and reſpected by Great Britain. The opinions of the privy council are liable to change frequently and wantonly—they have given us many recent proofs. I have no commands nor inſtructions from the Duke of Cumberland to aſſert it, but am ſure he neither can nor ought to have an objection to laying the proofs of his marriage before Parliament. New miniſters may create new doubts. Let the junto who raiſed ſuch dangerous reports quiet men's minds, not ſimply by their proceedings in Parliament this day,

day, but by ſome public act to recognize both marriages if duly verified: and out of reſpect to the nation, if they have none for the princes of the blood, it muſt then be their duty to make a proviſion for the Dukes to enable them to ſupport their wives, as well as to maintain their children. He inſiſted, that in full confidence of the ſufficiency of the teſtimony upon theſe marriages, it would be to the honour and advantage of both Ducheſſes, that the facts in proof ſhould be eſtabliſhed by the proper national inquiry, which were the Houſes of Parliament.

Mr. *T. Townſhend* wiſhed the motion to be withdrawn, for fear it ſhould widen the breach, inſtead of healing it. He wiſhed to ſee all the branches of the royal family in affluence, ſuitable to their high ſtation; and that unanimity and brotherly affection might make them examples worthy of imitation. He was ſure the noble Lord ſo nearly allied to Cumberland Houſe meant well; but feared that his ſeconding the motion would prove of bad conſequence to the intereſt of the princes. He applauded highly the conduct of the Duke of Cumberland, in his attention and feeling behaviour towards Lord Chatham, on his Lordſhip's late ſudden illneſs in the Houſe of Lords. He thought both princes had virtues and ſpirit which might, through a reconciliation with the crown, be employed for the benefit of Great Britain: at the ſame time he profeſſed himſelf, a ſanguine and able friend to Glouceſter Houſe.

Mr. *Walpole* ſaid, the name he bore, made him riſe to expreſs his aſtoniſhment that the legitimacy of the Duke of Glouceſter's children ſhould be doubted by any man. He did not accuſe the noble Lord who ſeconded the motion: he thought, on the contrary, that his Lordſhip being fully ſatisfied, that proofs could be brought of the marriage of the Duke of Glouceſter, ought from his connexion to carry great weight, and hoped he would adviſe the honourable gentleman [Mr. Wilkes] to withdraw the motion.

Sir *James Lowther* ſaid, he was the perſon who moved an increaſe of income to the two royal Dukes laſt year, on account of their marriages; which marriages, he was happy to hear ſo fully acknowledged by the miniſters. That he recommended the moſt proper public act for acknowledging thoſe marriages, by an immediate ſuitable proviſion for their royal Highneſſes the Ducheſſes of Glouceſter and Cumberland; and if miniſters did not move it, he would. He obſerved, that

that ſomething ought to have been done for the Duke of Cumberland, as well as for his brother; but recommended to withdraw the motion for the preſent.

Mr. Wilkes withdrew his motion *.

Mr. *Powys* moved, that for the more effectually procuring a reconciliation between Great Britain and her colonies, it may be neceſſary to give further inſtructions to the commiſſioners who are to be appointed by his Majeſty to go to America.

Mr. *Pultney* thought the motion injurious to the commiſſioners. A number of men had raiſed themſelves in the colonies, from obſcurity to grandeur, from poverty to riches, and from ſervitude to power; they had the reins of their new government in their hands, which muſt be wreſted from them; it was reaſonable to ſuppoſe, that they would inſiſt upon it, and, if not overcome by the ſuperior voice of the people, would preſerve it. Such a reſolution as that moved for, would give them the faireſt argument to perſuade the people, and independency muſt be the conſequence. But he did not deſpair of the ſucceſs of the commiſſion. He believed the tone of the Americans, in general, was againſt independency. They had been in a manner forced into a meaſure, which they had not approved of, and it was even carried in the Congreſs by one or two voices. It was even reaſonable, arguing from motives of intereſt, to ſuppoſe that they would prefer dependency to independency. Secured from taxation; relieved from the fear of having any ſhare in the

* Notwithſtanding the importance of the buſineſs, it was hurried by adminiſtration through both Houſes with extraordinary precipitation. Lord North delivered the meſſage from the King on the 8th of April. A bill was ordered to be prepared and brought in on the ſame day. The bill appeared in the Houſe on the 10th, (Friday); was read a firſt and ſecond time, and committed. April 13, (Monday,) the Houſe reſolved itſelf into the committee, went through the bill, received the report of the committee, and ordered the bill to be ingroſſed. The bill was on April 14 read a third time, paſſed, and ſent to the Lords. April 15, the Commons received a meſſage from the Lords, by the Lord chief baron Skynner, and Mr. baron Hotham, that the Lords had agreed to the bill. On the 16th of April, the eight day only after the meſſage of the crown, the bill received the royal aſſent.

burthen

burthen of our debt; protected during war by our ſtrength, and cultivated during peace by our arts—with theſe advantages joined to dependency, could they wiſh to be independent? It was not reaſonable, that men, attentive to their intereſts, would forfeit ſecurity and protection, for danger and the chimerical notions of nominal grandeur. But it hurt him to hear a propoſition urged in that Houſe ſo deſtructive to the welfare of Britain. Would not the independency of America be the eve of their advancement into a flouriſhing naval power? Their ſituation commanding a ſpecies of ſuperiority over all the earth, they would ſoon rival Europe in arts, as well as grandeur, and their power in particular would rear itſelf on the decay of ours. Are we then ſo loſt to all the feelings of patriotiſm, that with a wanton hand we would lay the foundation ſtone of a blockade againſt our own exiſtence? We were able yet to reduce America, if ſhe ſhould be unwiſe enough to refuſe our offers. Efforts would then be made very different from the former. We had till then been engaged in a wrong cauſe; our miniſters had been cruel, unjuſt, and unconſtitutional in their demands, and the hearts of the people were not in the meaſures adopted. But now the injuſtice would change ſides, and if they refuſed, they only would be the aggreſſors. In a war with juſtice on our ſide, what would not Britain perform? The national ſpirit was not extinct, and that was the bulwark of Britain. The ſtate of the funds and finances had been introduced as reaſons for evading a war. An inquiry into the internal oppulence of this country would extinguiſh every fear of that kind. The aggregate riches of Britain were not leſs than a thouſand millions. The national debt was only one hundred and forty-ſix millions; a ſeventh part of the wealth of the kingdom. How then could we be ſo diſtreſſed in our finances? In caſes of national occaſion, we ſhould have reference to the fundamental property of the nation, and all Europe would wonder at our reſources, and tremble at our power.

Mr. *Fox* ſaid, he had formed a decided opinion upon it, and if he ſhould happen in his ſentiments to differ from a venerable character, which he honoured and revered, they would give him credit that no early prejudice, no infant pique, directed his judgment, or influenced his mind. He had conſidered this matter, abſtracted from every other object, and his judgment was formed upon logical, as well as natural

natural reaſoning and deduction. The dependency of America he thought impoſſible, from our ſituation, as well as from the nature of the object, to regain. She had joined with France in an amicable and commercial treaty. The latter had recognized her independency, and they were both bound in gratitude to defend one another, againſt our reſentment on the one hand, or our attempt to break it on the other. If by conceſſion or coercion we attempted to recover the dependency of America, we had, the powers of France and America, and perhaps Spain, to encounter with. If we attempt to puniſh France for recognizing the independency of America, America joins her, and we have in either caſe two, if not three powers to combat with. It is probable, that the greateſt part of Europe will join in the recognizance. Gratitude on the one hand, and obligation on the other, will tie them in one bond, and we muſt experience the joint efforts of all, if we attack one. If, on the contrary, the committee agree to the motion, and recognize the independency of America, we ſhall be no longer bound to puniſh the European powers, who have already, or who may do the ſame: and we may probably ſecure a larger ſhare of the commerce of the Americans, by a perpetual alliance on a fœderal foundation, much more beneficial than a nominal dependence. He could not avoid, however, lamenting to hear that language at this day uſed in the Houſe of Commons—that the Americans were not in general inclined to independence. Could any thing be more diſtant from probability? Had we not ſeen every proof exhibited to the contrary? Had not the provinces, one and all, entered into the moſt ſolemn bond not to depart from, or reſcind their vote of independency; and had not even thouſands of them, in the province of Carolina, as well as others, taken an oath before Heaven to maintain it? The Congreſs and the people were the ſame. Diſtinct opinions, party diſtractions, and diſunited intereſts, had not been formed in America, with regard to the great point in which, by their unanimity, they have ſucceeded. He laughed to hear the contrary; but hoped ſincerely that the honourable gentleman near him, (Governor Johnſtone) and the other commiſſioners, had more ſolid grounds of dependence, and more rational hopes of ſucceſs. He viewed the dependency of America as a matter of very little moment to any part of this country, other than the miniſter. He underſtood that the appointment of governors, and other officers by the crown, was an object of their contemplation, which they eſteemed of conſequence. It was meant,

meant, he ſuppoſed, as an addition to the weight in the ſcale of government, and this circumſtance deſerved the moſt ſerious attention of the Houſe. The three eſtates of Parliament can no longer be the ſecurity and defence of our conſtitution, than when they remain in an equipoiſe with regard to one another. If one preponderates, the executive over the legiſlative, or the legiſlative over the executive, the ſuperſtructure muſt fall. It was a melancholy, but a certain truth, that the power of the executive had been gradually exerting itſelf to a predominancy for ſome years paſt, and its growth was already threatening to our conſtitutional exiſtence. The further advantage that would be thrown into the ſcale, by the weight of America, would give maturity to its growth, and perpetual dominion to it over the legiſlative; becauſe, by the exemption from taxation, no degree of weight whatever was added to the legiſlative ſtate. Taxes are ſo far neceſſary to our conſtitution, as that they engage the people narrowly to watch and reſiſt the influence of the crown. Their lives and properties can only be in danger if the crown becomes deſpotic. A ſecurity againſt that danger deſtroys their fears; and not being concerned in the advancement or depreſſion of the crown, they do not regard its progreſs. Good God! then, could Britons awake, and, ſenſible of the danger ariſing from the predominancy of the executive power, wilfully throw ſo great an addition of ſtrength into it, as the power of appointing the officers to the government of America muſt neceſſarily create? Had we not appointments, douceurs, ſinecures, penſions, titles, baubles, and ſecret-ſervice money enough already? Did not the creatures of government ſwarm in every department, and muſt we add to their number? He could not ſee that American independency would ſo ſoon riſe as the honourable gentleman imagined, to maritime preeminence. They could have no inducement to hunt for territory abroad, when the extent they poſſeſſed quietly would be more than they could occupy and cultivate. They would find no advantages of conqueſt equal to thoſe of agriculture; and remembering that man, in his nature, has a predilection for the enjoyment of landed property, they would find it impoſſible, in a country where land was to be had for nothing, to propagate a ſpirit of manufacture and commerce. Every American, more or leſs, would become the tiller and planter, and the country might, in ſome future and diſtant period, be the *Arcadia*, but it could never be the *Britain* of the world. He reverted to the arguments

of

of the honourable gentleman near him, in regard to the finances of this country. He never was more ſurprized than to hear a man of ſenſe, of reading and argument, introduce a puerility. The internal opulence of the country might be introduced as a figure of ſhew, to delude the ignorant into an extravagant idea of our reſources; but men muſt know that it was a mere deluſion. If we are reduced to ſuch an emergency as to have reference to the fundamental opulence, ſo may our enemy; and comparing the one reſource with the other, we muſt acknowledge that theirs, in that reſpect, is treble to our own. Our natural reſources, he knew, were ſuperior to thoſe of our enemy, in proportion to the extent of country; but we ought to remember, that theirs were capable of more improvements without hurting the people than ours. Would the miniſters aboliſh the extravagant method of collecting their revenues, the voluptuous manner of expending them, and the enormous extent of the royal expenditure, what a ſuperiority, in point of revenue, might they not effect? He condemned the conciliatory act as totally inadequate to the object; and declared, that if it produced any good end he ſhould attribute it ſolely to the influence of the honourable and worthy gentleman [Governor Johnſtone] who was laſt joined in the commiſſion. He hoped the committee would conſider ſeriouſly of the matter before them; there had been enough of treaſure waſted in vain; and that they might not waſte more on a fruitleſs inadequate commiſſion, he begged them to extend the powers, and ſecure the ſucceſs. He could not avoid, he ſaid, adverting to the conduct of the miniſtry, in regard to the French *aggreſſion*. He knew not from whence the word came, but he ſuppoſed it meant *inſult*. He and others were termed puſillanimous, becauſe they attempted to ſtorm the torrent of rage and bravery, that ruſhed from the boſoms of the miniſtry on that occaſion—they were called puſillanimous becauſe they were calm; but could they not now, with double energy, reverberate the term on thoſe men who had confeſſed the nation was inſulted; who had made the King and the Parliament of England confeſs that they were inſulted; and who, for a whole month, had pocketed the inſult, without preparing to puniſh it, or taking a ſingle ſtep for the defence of the nation? His noble friend, who had been termed puſillanimous, for adviſing the miniſtry to abate their rage, though he would not, by a previous conduct, have brought the nation to a neceſſity of declaring

that

that they were inſulted; having once brought them ſo, he would inſtantly have revenged the inſult.

He begged the committee to obſerve, that the miniſtry, conſcious of their own inability, were obliged, when they wanted ſervice to be performed, to call to their aſſiſtance the very men who had condemned their meaſures, and who had uniformly deſpiſed them. If a peace was to be negotiated, or a war to be undertaken, (meaning the appointment of Governor Johnſtone in the one caſe, and admiral Keppel and Lord Amherſt in the other,) they were obliged to employ the men on his ſide of the Houſe.

Governor *Johnſtone* doubted, whether it might not be thought imprudent for him to ſpeak at all in the preſent predicament in which he ſtood; but however, that he never ſhould withhold his opinion; he ſaid, it would be preſumptuous, and if ſo folly, in him to ſay that the buſineſs of the commiſſion would ſucceed. But he thought that he ſaw ſo many reaſons for thinking ſo, that he was free to undertake it. It was an experiment to be tried: and that he would undertake it on the ground, which the late conciliatory acts had laid. It might be an odd and ſingular thing to ſay, but he declared freely, that he did not deſire his inſtructions to be extended nor enlarged; eſpecially on the point of independency. He looked upon the eſtabliſhing of the independency of America, as entailing ruin upon this country.

There were indeed ſome preliminary matters which he thought ſtill remained to be ſettled as abſolutely neceſſary to the ſucceſs of the negotiation of the commiſſioners.

The firſt was the repealing of the declaratory law: which was downright nonſenſe, as it now ſtood in our ſtatute books, after the repeal they have already made. The other was the repeal of the Canada act. He ſaid, when theſe obſtacles were removed as well as thoſe, to the removal of which we already conceded, the Americans could have nothing elſe to aſk. When they had abſolute ſecurity in the poſſeſſion of all their rights, what could they wiſh more? Aſk any diſpaſſionate man, or any indifferent power upon the earth, ought they or ought they not, to cloſe with us on the conceſſions which we offer?

Moſt certainly they ought. While indeed we denied them any rights which they were undoubtedly entitled to; while we, with the hand of power, reſtrained them in the exerciſe of thoſe which we even allowed they had; while we made an unjuſt, cruel, fooliſh and abominable war againſt them; *they were* united in their oppoſition and reſiſtance to us; and

and Britain was divided. Half Britain then was oppoſed to all America. But now that we offer them ſuch terms as they ought to be contented with and to accept, their reſiſtance, if they refuſe *then*, will become *poſitive rebellion*, and our war will become a *juſt one*. It will then be all Britain againſt half America. On this ground of independency America is greatly divided. Whatever the people in power may wiſh and aim at, the great body of the people do not wiſh to change the government of Britain for that of the Congreſs. The people of the old ſettled intereſt and property do not wiſh for independency, they rather dread it.

Under this ſtate of things; and my information, which I will truſt and ſtand by, tells me that this is the ſtate of things; I do not deſpair of the ſucceſs of the commiſſion with the powers it has at preſent; at leaſt it will bear experiment worth the trial. If they are not actually divided in their meaſures, they are yet ſo unſettled in their opinion, that we ought to try *whether they will be divided*.

But even ſuppoſing that the acknowledging the independency of America ſhould become a right meaſure, I doubt whether this Houſe could declare them independent. Can this Houſe take upon it to diſmember the empire? I ſay it cannot.

Although I can never agree to the idea of the independency of America, in the ſenſe that gentlemen in this Houſe have taken it up: yet I would not be thought to entertain a hope of a dependence, ſuch as others expect. Something perhaps of an union between two unequal parties, on terms ſuited to the condition of each, may be had with America. Yet, if they think that France has really and ſincerely aſſiſted and ſupported them, and if they have made a reciprocal treaty with France, it cannot be expected, I would not wiſh it nor attempt it, that they ſhould make peace with us without including France in the ſame. But if France has chicaned them, and by falſe pretences, without really aſſiſting them, has drawn them into all the miſeries and diſtreſſes they ſuffer, and if one can perſuade and convince them of that, they ought to thank us for getting them out of their hands, and to conclude a peaceh us wit without thinking of thoſe falſe friends.

Mr. *Dundas* (Lord Advocate) ſaid the power of Britain was ſufficient to check France and recover America; and therefore if America would not accept of the terms now offered, he would offer no other.

Mr. *T. Townſhend* thought the motion premature, and moved for the chairman leaving the chair.

Lord *North* was againſt making any further conceſſions. He ſaid he had reaſon to believe the treaty with France was not ratified by the Congreſs; and as it was certain that France had all along cajoled and abuſed them, they were not under obligation to give them either aſſiſtance or preference. He believed ſtill that the minds of the people at large were inclined to conciliation, and he truſted that the meaſures already adopted would finally effect it. He reverted to the expreſſion of the honourable gentleman [Mr. Fox] that he was obliged to repair to thoſe who deſpiſed him, when he wanted ſervice or advice. He declared that it was his invariable purſuit to ſeek for capable men, without regard to their ſituations or political opinions. As to a war with France he thought it *unavoidable*; at leaſt, *very probable*.

Mr. *Dunning* was againſt the motion. There was no limit in it, he ſaid, nor could it be conſtrued to what it extended. He wiſhed to preſerve the dependency of America.

Sir *George Savile* ſaid we had been at law with America; that America had gained the trial, and would demand *coſts*.

The chairman left the chair, and there was no diviſion.

Adjourned to April 13.

April 13.

Sir *Philip Jennings Clerke* began, by ſaying, he ſhould not make any long preface to this motion, as its own merit would be a better advocate, and he truſted it would be ſuch as would recommend it to every part of the Houſe.

The people of this country, he ſaid, in all dangers and difficulties, were accuſtomed to look up to Parliament for protection. Our anceſtors had maintained many glorious ſtruggles to obtain Parliaments; and our brethren in America had profuſely laviſhed away their blood to procure a Parliamentary repreſentation. When King William delivered this country from the tyranny and oppreſſion of the Stuarts, the firſt thing he did, was to promiſe a Parliament; but one word was alſo added—it was *free*; without which it would have been of no value. He not only granted a *free* Parliament, but many acts paſſed in that reign to preſerve and keep them *independent*. All commiſſioners of cuſtoms, exciſe, ſalt duties, &c. as being concerned in public money, were excluded from ſitting as members in the Houſe. He deſired thoſe acts might be read. Being read accordingly, he then ſaid that a new ſpecies of placemen had aroſe ſince that time, more dangerous to the conſtitution,

tution, and more prejudicial to the intereſt of the people, than any of theſe excluded by thoſe acts. Theſe were people who held many lucrative and beneficial contracts under the government. He wiſhed to avoid perſonalities as much as poſſible, but he could not help taking notice of the gold contract. The noble Lord in the blue ribbon had ſaid, that two and a half per cent. had been given originally on that contract; but finding, ſome time after, that it extended itſelf farther than was firſt expected, he lowered the bargain to one and a half per cent. If then it would bear a deduction of one per cent. it muſt appear to the conviction of every man, that two per cent. would have afforded a ſufficient profit on the firſt bargain. He ſaid, he ſhewed the agreement to a great merchant in the city of London, and he produced and read his opinion, which was, that at computing the whole at the average price of two per cent. the profit amounted to 46,000l. That the uſual and eſtabliſhed commiſſion among merchants for remitting money, even in ſmall ſums, was no more than half per cent. which on the ſum remitted would amount to 11,500l. ſo that 34,500l. had been given more than the accuſtomed price. He could name many other inſtances, he ſaid, where very diſadvantageous bargains had been made for the public; but his remark, on the whole, was, that members of Parliament would not be contractors, if extraordinary and improper advantages were not given them.

We ſhould not hear, he ſaid, a member riſe up, and aſſure the Houſe, he ſold his coals as cheap as any merchant in London: another would not engage to furniſh coals; or another not engage to provide ſhoes. He never heard that there were any taylors or ſhoemakers in that Houſe. It was impoſſible, he ſaid, not to perceive, that giving theſe contracts to members was an arrant job, and did create a dangerous influence in that Houſe, which muſt operate much to the injury of the nation; for the more money was raiſed on the public the greater was the profit to theſe gentlemen: they throve upon the ſpoil of their fellow ſubjects. America would not ſubmit to be taxed by the Parliament of England, becauſe the more money ſhe levied upon them, the more ſhe exonerated her own burden. We ſeem to be ſomething in their ſituation; the more money theſe gentlemen vote to be raiſed, the greater will be their profit: to grant away the money of others to enrich themſelves, was improper. Many more arguments might be offered in ſupport of the motion; but I will

only obſerve, that, from a ſeries of miſmanagement, the ſituation of this country is become very *critical* and *perilous*.

We are at the edge of a precipice, and, without more public virtue, and better conduct, we muſt inevitably ſink. The very being of this country was hazarded, and unleſs a total alteration of men and meaſures took place, we were devoted to every ſpecies of calamity and ruin, ſlavery itſelf, perhaps, not excepted.

The motion I ſhall make you is this, viz.

"That leave be given to bring in a bill for reſtraining any perſon, being a member of the Houſe of Commons, from being concerned himſelf, or any perſon in truſt for him, in any contract made by the commiſſioners of His Majeſty's treaſury, the commiſſioners of the navy, the board of ordnance, or by any other perſon or perſons, for the public ſervice, unleſs the ſaid contract ſhall be made at a public bidding."

Sir *George Yonge* ſeconded the motion, and ſaid, it was full time that the Houſe ſhould take the expenditure of the public money, and the ſeveral modes of corruption, deviſed to ſeduce members from their duty, into conſideration.

Sir *Joſeph Mawbey* was ſevere upon the contractors in general; and particularly ſuch of them as had ſeats in that Houſe.

Mr. *Harley* ſaid, he wiſhed that the contracts were ſtrictly inquired into, as he was conſcious that, upon the moſt rigid and ſcrupulous inveſtigation, *his* would bear the teſt. Said, he had been all along conſiſtent, both before and ſince the war; that he had always ſupported government upon principle; and had even riſqued his perſon and life in ſupport of government. He therefore differed widely from the ſentiments of the three worthy baronets who ſpoke before him; for he could ſolemnly affirm, his vote in Parliament was never influenced by any other conſideration but the mere merit of the ſeveral queſtions as they aroſe.

Mr. *Turner* ſaid, the preſent queſtion would prove the teſt of miniſters, and their friends in that Houſe; for it ſteered a middle path. It did not merely exclude contractors for being contractors in a fair, open, equitable manner; but for being cloſet contractors, for being private plunderers; for entering into a conſpiracy with a corrupt adminiſtration to plunder their country; and either ſhare the ſpoil with the reſt of the public conſpirators, or with ſome others more remote from the public eye, and from national obſervation.

Mr.

Mr. *A. Bacon* ſaid he was a merchant, and had honeſtly ſerved an apprenticeſhip for ſeven long years to an eminent merchant; and when he had contracts, he fulfilled them fairly and honeſtly. Said, he had often voted againſt miniſters, and voted for the repeal of the ſtamp act; he could not conceive why contractors ſhould be treated in ſo unbecoming, nay, contemptuous a manner—as if they were monſters, and not fit for human ſociety!

Sir *Cecil Wray* ſaid, he always diſliked private contracts. The preſent motion was not againſt the perſons or characters of contractors, but to prevent the foul deeds imputed to miniſters, and men ſuppoſed to be leagued together to rob the public. The miniſter, if he conſidered properly his own intereſt, reputation, and perſonal ſatisfaction, ought to ſupport the preſent motion. Thoſe who wiſhed to contract, on the other hand, would be relieved from all that obloquy, which neceſſarily follows the preſent mode of ſerving the public in a private manner.

Colonel *Barré* ſaid, contracts ought to be open, and offered to the higheſt bidder. The gentlemen riſe one by one, and ſay, "I am not influenced; I have voted ſometimes one way, ſometimes another." This, however, muſt be taken upon the bare credit of the honourable gen lemen. I have indeed obſerved, that gentlemen of this deſcription, when bills for laying duties on ſhips going out or coming into harbours, or to build or repair piers, or for paſſing light-houſes, ſometimes differ from adminiſtration, but upon no other, that I can recollect, during a very long knowledge of this Houſe.

The colonel next obſerved, that he remembered a gentleman in that Houſe who roſe in a very haughty tone, avowed his independence; yet, upon further inquiry, he diſcovered that this ſame independent gentleman turned out to be in poſſeſſion of a private contract, which brought him in thirty thouſand pounds a year. He owned he ſuſpected it at the time; and it was that ſuſpicion led him to the diſcovery of the fact. Said, he was himſelf a contractor with the public; and was actually entered into a contract with twenty perſons (*); ſaid, he did not know how he ſhould get out of it, or rather, how he ſhould die in it; not for fear of any perſonal violence, but how he ſhould get his dinner. He

* The ſelect committee for inquiring into the expenditure of the public money.

then made ſeveral ſevere alluſions to contracts and contractors—ſaid, the public money had been ſhamefully and traiterouſly laviſhed. He ſaid, ſuppoſe a miniſter, during the receſs of the treaſury board, ſhould ſend for a contractor, and give him a large contract, in which the nation was to be plundered of thirty or forty thouſand pounds, or more; and ſuppoſe the treaſury board ſhould meet after the ſaid receſs; and that after this cloſet arrangement the miniſter ſhould through neglect forget, or purpoſely omit, to mention a ſyllable of this cloſet contract—ſuppoſe, I ſay, not a ſingle *iota* of the contract ſhould be mentioned; ſurely this muſt be a private contract with a witneſs; and the miniſter muſt be entitled to the public thanks of his country.

Lord *North* replied, that the facts alluded to by the honourable gentleman, would come before the Houſe properly authenticated, from the ſelect committee. He therefore wiſhed gentlemen would ſuſpend their opinions till the whole matter came properly before the Houſe. He ſaid, if he had made any contracts, he made them for the public benefit; and if they had turned out otherwiſe, it was not his fault; at leaſt, whatever he had done, he did for the beſt. He ſeemed to diſapprove of the motion.

Lord *George Gordon* ſaid, that he was ſorry to differ in opinion with the noble contractor in the blue ribband, the right honourable privy counſellor contractor, and the reſt of the honourable contractors on the other ſide of the Houſe, who had delivered their ſentiments in oppoſition to the motion. He took the liberty of riſing to declare his hearty concurrence with the very reſpectable and eloquent members near him, who, with ſo much power and perſuaſion, had delivered to the Houſe unanſwerable arguments for giving their aſſent to bring in the bill.

That, having mentioned the noble lord as the head of the contractors, he would take the liberty of inſtancing one example of it in very few words to the Houſe.

He ſaid, that noble Lord was the greateſt of all contractors; he was a contractor for men; a contractor for your flock, Mr, Speaker, [addreſſing himſelf to the chair,] a contractor for the repreſentatives of the people; that noble Lord propoſed to give a place of a thouſand a year, provided a noble Duke would prevail on the moſt inſignificant member in that Houſe to vacate his ſeat in Parliament.

The noble Duke behaved like a man upon the occaſion; like a friend, like a brother; he rejected the villanous propoſition that noble Lord had the aſſurance to make.

He

He then told the Houſe, he was not acquainted with the noble Lord; he had never ſpoke to him; he had never the honour of being introduced to him; but he ſincerely wiſhed him to ſave his country and his own life; deſired him to call off his butchers and ravagers from the colonies; to retire with the reſt of his Majeſty's evil adviſers from the public government, and make way for honeſt and wiſer counſellors; to turn from his wickedneſs and live; it was not yet too late to repent; the public clamour for revenge was not yet raiſed againſt him; his Majeſty's troops were not yet totally defeated in America.

After thanking the Houſe for their attention, he ſaid he would not treſpaſs any longer at that time on their kind indulgence.

Lord *North* denied that the propoſition the noble Lord had alluded to was a villanous propoſition; and objected to the word villanous, as highly unparliamentary and improper.

Lord *George Gordon* replied, that he retracted the epithet villanous, as an unparliamentary expreſſion; but defied the noble Lord, or any man, to deny the veracity of what he had related; and left it to the breaſt of every member in the Houſe to apply an epithet more ſuitable to a treaty of that nature, with brother for brother.

The queſtion was called for and the Houſe divided; for the motion 71, againſt it 50.

April 14.

In the committee on the bill for recruiting his Majeſty's land forces and marines;

Mr. *Turner* obſerved, that the act of impreſſing was ſo contrary to the ſyſtem of our liberty, that he could not ſee an expedient brought into Parliament anſwering to that end, without at leaſt rendering it as eaſy as poſſible to the ſubject. He wiſhed to ſee no one man preſſed into the ſervice who was uſeful to ſociety; and he was convinced, that among men of another deſcription enough might be found to ſatisfy the emergency of the times. Smugglers, for inſtance, were a ſet of men injurious to the community; and therefore he moved, that all men detected in ſmuggling any prohibited commodity, to a leſs amount than forty pounds, ſhould be impreſſed, in lieu of any other puniſhment or penalty that the law had provided. This amendment paſſed.

Sir *Cecil Wray* moved, that the clauſe obliging ſuch as might be diſcharged by an appeal, to pay ſixpence for each day of their detention, ſhould be expunged; and in place thereof, that each man diſcharged as an improper object, ſhould

receive one ſhilling for each day of his detention—This alſo paſſed.

Mr. *Turner* moved, that the clauſe protecting diſorderly men from the power of the act, who had a vote for a repreſentative in Parliament, ſhould be totally expunged; but the Houſe was againſt that amendment.

The bill went through the committee and was ordered to be reported.

Sir *George Savile* moved for leave to bring in a bill, to repeal the Quebec act; upon the ground of its being odious and inimical to the Americans, and conſequently an obſtacle to our attempts to make an accommodation with them.

Mr. *Joliffe* ſaid there was no foundation for ſuch an apprehenſion. The act was not complained of—no evidence had been offered at the bar to prove the bill inexpedient, nor had he heard an argument offered in favour of the repeal.

Mr. *Fielde* aſked, if there was no argument in the opinion of Governor Johnſtone, one of the commiſſioners?

Sir *George Howard* ſaid there were but two circumſtances which he thought could deprive us of Canada: The repealing this bill, and recalling Sir Guy Carleton, who knew the temper of the people ſo well. Upon General Carleton's authority he ſaid he thought the repeal of the act now would be dangerous.

Mr. *T. Townſhend* ſpoke highly of Sir Guy Carleton's military abilities, but ſaid he was before miſtaken in the opinion which he delivered at the bar, relative to the diſpoſition of the people in that province: therefore his authority in this particular was not to be wholly relied on. He contended, that not only this conſtitution had been violated in that act, but alſo that of the Canadians; for they had enjoyed the benefits of a Britiſh government for ſome years prior to the act, and Parliament erred egregiouſly, when it preſumed to abrogate the liberties of a Britiſh government. To ſay that the people deſired it, was a downright abſurdity; for what people who, like them, had ever taſted the ſweets of our conſtitutional freedom, would think of flying back to an ariſtocratic government, where an aſſembly or council of little nobleſſe had a legiſlative authority over them?

The Houſe divided; for the motion, 54, againſt it, 96.

April 15.

The Houſe in committee of ſupply, Sir *Grey Cooper* moved, That the ſum of 56,680l. be granted to diſcharge the penſions allowed by government to thoſe perſons who had ſuffered loſſes

loſſes in America, on account of their loyalty to his Majeſty.

Colonel *Barré* then moved, That the liſt of thoſe perſons, with the reſpective penſions aſſigned them, ſhould be laid before the Houſe.

Lord *North* urged the impropriety of expoſing ſuch perſons to the reſentment of their countrymen; which would neceſſarily be the caſe, if the liſt then moved for were to be laid on the table; but he declared his readineſs to ſubmit it to the inſpection of any member who privately deſired to ſee it.

Colonel *Barré* ſaid this propoſal was unparliamentary, and tended to bring perſonal odium on the inquiring party. The ſum voted laſt year for the ſame purpoſe was 30,000l. It was now encreaſed 26,000l. and upon no other authority than the word of the miniſter, with reſpect to the neceſſity or application of ſo large a ſum. Much had been loſt in the conteſt by ſome eſpouſers of government. Much had been gained by other partizans of their cauſe; it was a pity the gainers were not obliged to ſupport the loſers. The noble Lord at the head of adminiſtration had acquired ſome advantages; his countenance had all the characters of humanity in it. He ſurely might provide for a few of them. Another noble Lord on the treaſury bench near him, [Lord Weſtcote,] though with a countenance not quite ſo bountiful, poſſeſſed perhaps as generous and humane a heart. He could, no doubt, provide for a few. And a third right honourable member in his eye, [Mr. Rigby,] who had a harveſt of plenty in his face, might reaſonably be expected to take care of a few more: to enable him to do this, he enjoyed the lucrative poſt of paymaſter of the forces, with ſeveral ſnug ſinecures, ſome that were known to the public, and many that were unknown.

Lord *Frederick Campbell* complained of the partiality in which proviſion was made for the ſufferers in this conteſt; particularly inſtancing the treatment of a noble relation of his own, who had loſt a conſiderable fortune, and his applications for a proviſion had been totally neglected by adminiſtration.

Lord *Weſtcote* declared that the penſions given by the treaſury on this account, were not as a compenſation for the loſſes ſuffered, but merely as a ſubſiſtence for the parties, till ſomething more effectual could be done for them. The noble Lord alluded to would no doubt be conſidered as ſoon as we were in a ſituation to make compenſation for the loſſes which

which had been incurred by individuals in ſupporting the intereſts and authority of this country.

He expatiated on the great care which the treaſury bench had taken in allotting thoſe penſions; a buſineſs which they purſued with ſuch attention, that they ſometimes loſt their dinners by it, and often were obliged to make ſhort meals, whilſt they were inveſtigating the merits of the ſeveral claimants.

Mr. *Townſhend* obſerved, that ſhort as the meals were which the treaſury lords had taken upon this buſineſs, they had contrived to make a very large *reckoning* for the nation to pay; and it ſeemed as if the people would be better ſatisfied, that their Lordſhips had held moſt ſumptuous private *feaſts* at their own houſes, than ſuch expenſive public *faſts* at the treaſury board.

Mr. *Turner* adviſed the colonel to withdraw his motion, and not to take the ſenſe of a majority upon a queſtion for the granting of money, when he was convinced that they were of a deſcription which rendered them in fact, though not in form, incompetent to the duty of voting the public money.

Colonel *Barré* paſſed ſome encomiums on the obſervation of the honourable gentleman, declared, upon his honour, he thought him right; and withdrew the motion.

Mr. *Fielde* delivered his ſentiments ſhortly againſt the confidence placed in the ſole word of a miniſter, on the application of ſo large a ſum.

And Mr. *Burke* ſpoke a few words at the end of the debate, ſupporting Colonel Barré's hint, "that thoſe who had gained ſo largely by this war, ſhould aſſiſt thoſe who had been loſers by it."

April 16.

Bills paſſed. Adjourned to the 29th.

April 29 *and* 30.

No debate.

May 1.

Bill preſented to exclude contractors from ſitting in the Houſe of Commons, and read. Moved, To be read a ſecond time on the 4th. The Houſe divided, for the queſtion 72, againſt it 61.

Adjourned to May 4.

May 4.

A petition being preſented from the manufacturers of Somerſetſhire againſt the bill for permitting the importation of ſail-cloth from Ireland, Mr. *Burke* obſerved, that it was

he

he who through miſtake moved for leave to bring in the bill, though, upon inquiry, he ſince diſcovered, that ſuch a law is already in being. If the bill was to be productive of the conſequences ſtated in the petition, it was a little extraordinary the petitioners forgot to complain when they were hurt; and now feel ſo ſtrongly when there is not even a poſſibility of ſuſtaining any injury. From this he inferred, that the jealouſy entertained of the other Iriſh bills was equally ill-founded, and only originated in groſs prejudice, or the ſelfiſh views of a few intereſted individuals. The petition was ordered to lie upon the table.

Order for ſecond reading the contractors bill.

Earl *Nugent* objected to reading the bill upon two grounds. The bill appointed, that all contracts, in which members or their agents were concerned, ſhould be purchaſed by auction, and yet government were not bound by it to accept the offer of the loweſt bidder; therefore he thought the act would be nugatory. Contracts had been in uſage for many years, and were conſidered by the wiſeſt adminiſtration as the wiſeſt way of ſerving the public; and it was therefore unfair that members of that Houſe ſhould be excluded from their ſhare in a fair mercantile practice till it had been proved upon them that they had made an unworthy uſe of the indulgence. A committee was now ſitting, employed in the examination of the contracts now in exiſtence. It would be prejudicing the contractors to do any thing againſt them before the report from that committee was made. He could not ſuppoſe that contracts created any undue influence in the Houſe more than ſinecure places (which, by the bye, he ſuppoſed no man on either ſide of the Houſe would agree to exclude); and the legiſlature, by tolerating the latter, had determined it to be no prejudice.

Sir *Philip Jennings Clerke* ſaid, the noble Lord had very juſtly ſtated the grounds and principle of the bill, which was to prevent any undue influence in that Houſe by members holding beneficial contracts under government, and alſo to guard againſt an improper laviſh expenditure of the public money. If the conduct of the majority of that Houſe for the two preceding years was adverted to, there would appear to be too much reaſon to apprehend, that ſome improper influence had prevailed; how elſe could it be accounted for, that a great number of gentlemen ſhould uniformly purſue meaſures of force and violence, ſhould declare they would never conſent to a peace with America while there was a ſhip that could ſwim, or a ſoldier carry a muſquet? Others

declare

declare they would bring them on their knees; others talk of ſtarvation; and every one of thoſe gentlemen, above two hundred, in one morning, in one half hour, all change their opinions, confeſs themſelves to have been in an error, and all adopt a new conduct, and ſubmit to become ſuppliants for that favour which, when they had the power, they with ſo much haughtineſs refuſed to grant. Such a verſatility of conduct could not poſſibly be aſcribed to a ſudden general conviction; no man with a grain of ſenſe could imagine it was. When it has been already proved, he ſaid, that one man got more than thirty-five thouſand pounds above the ordinary profit on one contract, it was unneceſſary to ſay that an ill uſe had been made of the public money. The noble Lord in the blue ribbon, he ſaid, had declared in the Houſe, that he did not wiſh to ſee contracts given to members of Parliament; but his words and actions had not correſponded, as he had ſhewn an extraordinary avidity to get contracts into his hands, particularly one of hiring ſhips; when he had ſtepped out of his own department into that of the navy-board, which was ſomewhat hurtful to the public, as the buſineſs had been always carried on there in the manner now propoſed by this bill, by public bidding, and no complaint had ever been made. The noble Lord told the Houſe (on this affair being mentioned), that the navy-board had excuſed themſelves from this contract, as being too full of buſineſs. It was true they did refuſe it; it was put to them in a way to inſure their refuſal; the noble Lord wiſhed them to refuſe it, and put the queſtion to them as an old man puts a queſtion to a fine woman, in making her to ſay yes, and wiſhing nothing ſo much as to have her ſay no. The noble Lord's wiſhes prevailed; and how did it anſwer to the public? Why, one of theſe ſhips carried out to America one hundred wheelbarrows, one ſmith's forge, and a pair of bellows, for which the nation paid thirteen hundred and odd pounds.

The object of the bill, he ſaid, was to take care that the public ſhould not be defrauded out of that money which they ſo liberally granted to defend the nation; and he could not conceive that any member of that Houſe could be ſo regardleſs of the intereſt of his conſtituents as to ſay they ſhould be.

He thought, therefore, there would be very little oppoſition to the bill, and that, for the honour and credit of the Houſe, it would then paſs into a law.

Sir

Sir *Edward Aſtley* obſerved to the noble Lord, [Lord Nugent] that though he might call it prejudging the contractors to enter on the buſineſs before the Houſe then, till the report from the ſelect committee was made, he aſſured him, as he was one he ſaid of that committee, that the report would ſufficiently prove the neceſſity and propriety of the bill. He ſaid the noble Lord had thrown out a kind of reflection on the Houſe at large, by ſaying, they would not wiſh on either ſide to preclude penſioners and placemen from ſeats. He declared he, for his own part, wiſhed ſuch a motion was made, as he would be happy (happy in the happineſs of the kingdom) if every placeman and penſioner was ſhut out, and he would zealouſly eſpouſe ſuch a motion.

Mr. *Wombwell* objected to the motion, becauſe he believed putting up contracts to ſale would be prejudicial to the public ſervice. Men inadequate to the accompliſhment of the contracts would at all times bid lower than men of ability and reputation, and they would do much more injury by ſerving the public badly, than the difference of expence. He had ſeen inſtances of it in the contracts of the Eaſt India Company, and thoſe of ſo fatal a nature, that he could not agree to the motion. Gentlemen unacquainted with buſineſs, and of little conſequence in the eye of the public, might move for reformations in every department of government.

[Here Mr. *Townſhend* called him to order, and ſaid, a gentleman riſes in his ſeat, who holds a contract himſelf from government, and, in the aſſembly of the nation, dares to call the mover of a queſtion, one of the moſt independent members of the Houſe, a man of no conſequence. He would give that honourable gentleman to underſtand, that the gentleman referred to, in better times than the preſent, merited a ſeat in that Houſe, while he ought to ſtand at the bar.]

Mr. *Wombwell* to explain. He explained his own contract to the Houſe.

Earl *Nugent* obſerved, that the honourable gentleman had meant no affront by the expreſſion. The Houſe would remember he was a merchant, and a man of no conſequence was a mercantile phraſe, and meant no more than a man unknown upon 'change. [*This created a loud laugh*]

Mr. *Byng* obſerved, that the crowded appearance of the Houſe, no doubt, gave the miniſter ground for hope, that he ſhould not be again defeated in this favourite point. He knew what arts had been uſed to collect the gentlemen. The treaſury letters had been circulated upon this occaſion with rather

too

too much notoriety; even the hour of appointment had come to the ears of people not called on the occaſion. It was cautiouſly done, however, to mention the hour, that he might not again, if he choſe to oppoſe numbers for want of argument to the queſtion, be worſted. He hoped, however, the bill would immediately paſs into a law.

Lord *George Gordon*. I riſe to declare my happineſs in concurring with the very reſpectable baronet on the floor, who, with a laudable zeal for the credit of the Houſe, has this day committed to our conſideration the commitment of the contractors bill. It meets with my hearty approbation, as being one of the many ſteps abſolutely neceſſary to be taken towards regaining the confidence and reſpect of the people to the privileges of Parliament.

I confeſs, at the ſame time, it is an Herculean labour the Hon. member has undertaken? for I think the cleanſing king Augeas's ſtable from filth and dirt of three thouſand oxen, for the ſpace of thirty-nine years, in the courſe of a day, was a mere play and paſtime, compared to the arduous taſk of reſtoring this Houſe to its ancient and original purity?

Though the honourable baronet is not quite ſo ſtrong as Hercules, he is ſupported in his endeavour of to-day by truth, juſtice, and good policy; which, added to his own abilities, with that great reſpect which every member in this Houſe, as well as his countrymen at large, entertain for his intentions to promote the welfare of the public, will, I hope, induce a very great majority to approve his preſent propoſition.

Sir, this dunghill of contracts has given an ill air to our whole proceedings? It has got wind abroad, and proves very offenſive to the public noſtrils; our conſtituents begin to ſmell a rat; they noſe us in the lobby, and call us (with more truth, I am afraid, than politeneſs) taylors and ſhoemakers, colliers and cabbage-ſalters, potatoe foreſtallers, ſour crout makers, and ſwine contractors. Our mace is tarniſhed with this dunghill; our authority choaked: and the dignity, reputation, and the fair name of the Commons is ſmothered, and ſinking in porter and ſalted cabbage, ſhoes, ſour crout, and potatoes. Foh! Mr. Speaker! what a nauſeous banquet have the Treaſury invited their friends from their pleaſant gardens and villas in the country to partake of, in the month of May.

An honourable member on the other ſide of the Houſe, [Anthony Bacon, Eſq.] one of the moſt ancient contractors within theſe walls, and, as I am told, a conſiderable merchant in

in the city, has mentioned that contracting in this Houſe was the very ſpirit of trade. So I believe it is; and the noble Lord in the blue ribbon may poſſibly find, when the day of trouble and adverſity ſhall arrive, that that very ſpirit of profit, which induced Incle to ſell Yarico, may tempt ſome few ſteady friends of his proſperity to contract for, and furniſh out the black cloth and ſcaffolding at their unhappy patron's execution.

Mr. *Sergeant Adair* ſaid, He was certain, that, among the merchants of the city of London, many might be found as adequate to the execution of a contract as any member of that Houſe; yet he was ſenſible, that, in caſe of a competition, he who had a ſeat would be preferred; and this created a fair concluſion, that contracts were beneficial to the miniſter. He would wiſh that clauſe, however, were inſerted into the bill, preſerving the preſent contractors from its tendency; they had made their treaties before its exiſtence, and it ought not to be of an *ex poſt facto* nature. He recurred to what a noble Lord [Lord Nugent] ſaid in the outſet of the debate, that penſioners and placemen ought to be excluded, as well as contractors. He from his heart thought ſo, and was ſincerely of opinion, that there never would be an independent Houſe of Commons until ſuch an event ſhould take place.

Governor *Pownal* concluded the debate. He did not object to the motion, but believed it was not adequate to the purpoſe; it could not provide againſt ſecret jobbing; and he would rather wiſh to ſee members riſe, like the honourable gentleman [Mr. Wombwell], and defend their contracts in the face of the Houſe, than have them made by the intervention of nominal agents. A motion was then made, "That the Speaker do leave the chair," paſſed in the negative, the numbers being, againſt the motion 115, for it 113.

A motion was then made for adjourning the commitment of the bill for two months, when the numbers were, Ayes, 113, Noes, 109.

May 5.

Lord *North* delivered the following meſſage from his Majeſty:

GEORGE R.

"His Majeſty relying on the repeated zeal and affection of his faithful Commons, and conſidering that, in this critical juncture, emergencies may ariſe that may be of the utmoſt importance, and attended with the moſt dangerous conſequences, if proper means ſhould not be immediately applied to

defeat and prevent them; is deſirous, that this Houſe will enable him to defray any extraordinary expences incurred, or to be incurred, by the military ſervices, for the ſervice of the year 1778, and to take ſuch further meaſures as the exigency of affairs may require."

And his Lordſhip moved, That the conſideration of the meſſage ſhould be referred to the committee of ſupply.

Sir *George Yonge* objected to the motion, and conſidered it as very improper, in the preſent criſis of affairs, to vote indefinite ſums of money to an adminiſtration ſo incapable of expending the public revenue with œconomy and effect. He thought the emergencies ought to be aſcertained to the Houſe, the ſums ſpecified, and authentic documents and vouchers of the expenditure laid upon the table.

Mr. *Turner* was of the ſame opinion: the Houſe ought to ſit and vote the money gradually, as the wants and occaſions aroſe.

Mr. *Townſhend* ſaid, it was no ſecret, that the Toulon ſquadron, conſiſting of twelve ſhips of the line, and ſeveral others of inferior force, had ſailed from that port on the 13th of April, in order, as was ſuppoſed, to ſtrike ſome deciſive blow in the weſtern world. Yet what has been the conduct of adminiſtration? To keep our fleet idle at home, or for no other purpoſe but to be exhibited as a public ſpectacle, to gratify the curioſity of thoſe who were inclined to waſte their time and money. He then pointed out the very defenceleſs ſtate of our ſeveral dependencies in North America and the Weſt Indies; and ſaid, he trembled for their fate. As ſoon as miniſters had notice of the forwardneſs of this armament, they ought to have diſpatched a ſufficient force to watch their motions, and have taken ſuch a certain ſtation as would have put it out of the power of D'Eſtaing to elude us. What was the caſe now? The fleet was ſailed; but whither, no man could tell; whether to Halifax, the Delaware, Quebec, to attack our Weſt-India Iſlands, or to make a conqueſt of the Eaſt Indies. He aſked, whither is the ſpirit of England fled? Where is the wiſdom that uſed to pervade her councils? Where are the terrors gone with which ſhe was wont to fill the boſoms of thoſe who dared to inſult her? Britain, he feared, was betrayed; treachery and corruption vied with each other to ſee which ſhould firſt effect her downfall and diſgrace. He was remarkably ſevere upon thoſe who, he ſaid, affected to fill the rank of miniſters, and directly charged them with ignorance,

norance, lazineſs, incapacity, and treachery; and lamented, that while our pageant ſhows and ſtreamers were wantoning in the wind at Spithead, our glory was tarniſhing, our coaſts were inſulted, and the Britiſh flag for ever diſgraced!

Lord *North* hoped, that when the honourable gentleman knew the preparations that had been made, and the care taken to protect this country from invaſion, he would not ſo haſtily condemn the miniſtry rs treacherous and incapable. The utmoſt exertions had been made; and though no fleet had yet ſailed to oppoſe the Toulon ſquadron, that could not be properly laid to the charge of miniſterial incapacity, ſince the French had it at all times in their power, by their mode of ſupply from their regiſter, to man out a fleet ſooner than we had.

Mr. *Adam* congratulated the nation on the recovery, in ſome degree, of that worthy ſpirit which had on ſo many occaſions ſignalized the nation. The example in the honourable gentleman (Mr. Townſhend) ſhone ſo bright, that he hoped it would be followed.

Mr. *Pulteney* begged the Houſe to remember that the advice of the ſailing of the Toulon fleet came to the adminiſtration on Monday the 27th ult. and no privy council was ſummoned until the Wedneſday following. The wind was fair for ſailing even till Saturday laſt, and the opportunity was neglected.

The motion was agreed to.

May 6.

The Houſe in committee on ſupply of the King's meſſage.

The order of the day being read, for a vote of credit to his Majeſty of 1,000,000l.

Mr. *T. Townſhend* drew a picture of our national defence, having, as he ſaid, a militia without arms, who were gone to be encamped without tent equipage; and a navy, either not manned, or not victualled, but lying embayed at Spithead for the mere parade of a naval review, while the Toulon fleet had ſailed on its expedition, which might prove fatal to the diſtant ſettlements of the Britiſh empire. He inquired whether we were actually at war or at peace with Spain, that ſhe dared to inſult our flag in her ports, and our commanders were ſo degradingly treated by her, whilſt every attention was paid to the ſhips of our revolted provinces, and their captains ſaluted with naval honours by the admiral at

Cadiz? Was it the mere incapacity of adminiſtration which tempted Spain to treat us with ſuch reproach? If it was; that incapacity was as injurious to the nation as the blackeſt treachery. He aſked if it was poſſible for miniſters to be awake, and yet ſuffer the Toulon fleet to ſail without taking a ſingle ſtep to oppoſe them? Could they call themſelves miniſters and guardians of the nation's weal, and yet confeſs that they had procured no intelligence till Monday ſen'night, of the departure of that fleet on the 13th of April? Was it from want of power to oppoſe them, or from the ſame inauſpicious fatality which had baniſhed every honeſt man from the councils of his Majeſty? Was our navy a mere pageant fleet, or was it equal to actual ſervice? Was it victualled and manned, or was it yet to be equipped? Did the regiſtry of ſeamen in France give her an advantage over us in the ſpeedy equipment of her navy? Was this never known till that day? Were we ſo ignorant of this advantage, that no exertions ſhould be made to guard againſt it? Where was now the boaſted reſpectibility of our navy? Were we to trace it in the pillages ſuffered on our coaſts, or the alarms and terror into which ſo many parts of the kingdom have been lately thrown, by invading inſolence? But the plundering a nobleman's houſe, the ravaging a few eſtates, or burning an odd town, were not perhaps objects to challenge the vigour of our fleets! The ſpirit of the militia was certainly very great. The ardour of the firſt men in the kingdom, and the generous alacrity of perſons of every condition to enter into that conſtitutional body, left us little apprehenſion for our internal defence; but in this, as in every other inſtance of the conduct of government, there were many evident neglects. The delay in calling them out, and the want of tents and arms, left them even yet unequal to the duties of eſſential ſervice. He appealed to the Houſe on the validity of the charge of government againſt gentlemen on this ſide of the Houſe—"that they had ſuddenly ruſhed from backwardneſs to precipitation, from deſpondency to confidence, from checking the ardour of adminiſtration to a crimination of their inactivity." But had not the change of public affairs reconciled the conſiſtency of theſe two lines of conduct? The firſt was between us and America, the latter between us and France. That related to an offenſive war againſt our brethren; this to a defenſive one againſt our natural enemy. Upon the whole,

whole, he would not oppoſe a grant which was for ſuch neceſſary purpoſes, but he apprehended it would be of little uſe, if the adminiſtration of affairs remained in the hands of men ſo flagrantly ignorant, and ſo ſcandalouſly negligent as the preſent ſervants of the crown.

Mr. *Penton* aſſured the Houſe, that we had a fleet ably equipped, and ready to ſail when commanded. He denied that the Spaniſh admiral had returned the ſalute of the rebel privateer, and ſaid he had his information of the affair from no leſs an authority than Captain Rowley himſelf, whoſe letter on the ſubject he was then in poſſeſſion of. He vindicated the miniſtry reſpecting the Whitehaven affair. Such attacks had been made in the moſt active adminiſtrations, of which the deſcent of Monſ. Thurot upon Carrickfergus in the north of Ireland, during the laſt war, was a recent inſtance. Every thing that could be done on that occaſion had been inſtantly put in execution. Four ſhips of force were diſpatched in different courſes, in ſearch of the privateer, and would, he hoped, be ſoon able to give ſome account of her.

On being aſked by Sir George Yonge, if the fleet at Spithead had received any orders for ſailing, he declined giving an anſwer to that queſtion, unleſs called upon by the Houſe.

Mr. *Fox* aſked the Houſe, if any man in his ſenſes would give a vote of credit to an adminiſtration, who were always the laſt who learned what they ſhould have been the firſt to know? An adminiſtration who could be ſo inſenſible of the ſudden emergencies of ſuch times as theſe, that, when official advice came of an event almoſt univerſally underſtood for ſeveral days before, not more than one of them could be found in town; their amuſements had engroſſed their attention; nor could a ſufficient number be procured for holding a council till the hour of debate was loſt? Who then could ſupport ſuch miniſters? Who could be extravagant enough to truſt them with the expenditure of a ſingle ſhilling?

Lord *George Germain* acknowledged that appearances were againſt the miniſtry; but appearances were not to juſtify a condemnation; a full inquiry into the circumſtances might place their caſe in a different light. For his part, he was ready to meet every ſcrutiny, and wiſhed puniſhment to fall where it was deſerved. When the diſpatches arrived he took the ſpeedieſt means to convene the miniſters from the

country, where ſome of them were. From the time of their arrival the greateſt expedition had been uſed by him, in ſending the orders of council to the proper officers at Spithead; but misfortunes were not always to be avoided. He hoped, he heartily wiſhed, our affairs might take a happier turn; and concluded by urging, that it would have been imprudent to have diſpatched after Count D'Eſtaing a fleet deſtined for our home defence before we knew the deſtination of his fleet.

Mr. *Fox* then begged the attention of the Houſe to a reſolution which he had lately moved in the committee on the ſtate of the nation, "That the navy in its preſent ſtate is inadequate to the defence of the empire." Miniſters then oppoſed it by aſſertions and votes, but they now confirmed it in argument and action; for the noble Lord admitted that a fleet ſhould have been ordered out for our external protection if our internal defence could have permitted it. Mr. Fox went further in aſſerting, that a fleet might have been ſpared from the immediate protection of our coaſts, as he was confident our militia and army would be fully ſufficient to repel any foreign invader: there were ample reſources in the preſent ſpirit of the nation to mock every menace of invaſion. With ſuch a dependence, how was it poſſible to eſtimate the guilt of miniſters who could tamely ſuffer an hoſtile ſquadron to carry unmoleſted deſtruction to the Britiſh army in America? The diſgrace of a Burgoyne was, it ſeems, to be atoned by the defeat of a Howe, and the want of information, reſpecting the Franco-American treaty, is compenſated in the ignorance of D'Eſtaing's ſailing and deſtination. Was there any thing more wanted to ſeal the fatal character of the preſent inauſpicious miniſtry? Or could they any longer hope to be truſted with the treaſures of a nation they have ſo ſhamefully betrayed, and of whoſe ſituation the noble Lord himſelf ſeemed to entertain ſuch little confidence? At his concluſion he expreſſed a wiſh to know whether a fleet had even yet been ordered to ſail after the French ſquadron, and, if not too late, to prevent the deſtruction of our navy and army in America.

Lord *George Germain* complained that his words were not fairly interpreted: he wiſhed indeed that the orders of council could have been ſooner diſpatched to Spithead, but he had not expreſſed a ſingle idea of deſpondency. The navy was now in a formidable ſtate, and was every day encreaſing in ſtrength and numbers, ſufficient to warrant the faireſt *hopes*. If miniſters had been diſpoſed to truſt the defence of

of this kingdom to the militia, much as the fleet might be wanted at home, a number of ſhips might have been ſent abroad. The painful pre-eminence of office at ſuch a time was, he ſaid, little to be envied; for his part, if any gentleman of talents and inclination to ſerve his country wiſhed to come into his place, he was ready to reſign it. He added, that there was little neceſſity for aſking if General Howe was in danger; whether a fleet had been ordered out to protect him; and he flattered himſelf that D'Eſtaing ſhould not attack us in any part of our empire with impunity.

Mr. *Burke* ſaid, it was idle to pretend that the deſtination of the Toulon fleet had been ſo long a ſecret, or that it was criminal if true. American pilots had been long engaged to conduct it. We had loſt the advantage of the wind, which blows to the weſt during the month of April, and that by the crime of miniſters; were we therefore to give our purſe ſtrings to their will, and retire in confidence to cultivate our gardens, ſmooth our lawns, and aſſume the little offices of ruſtic magiſtracy? Could we truſt the ſole guidance of the ſhip of ſtate to pilots, whom we have ſo lately detected in the baſeſt torpor, whilſt the danger threatened—who left her to the mercy of the waves, quitting the decks in the moment that called for all their ſkill and activity—who were not to be found when the ſquall came on. Alas! the rudder was laſhed, and Palinurus gone to ſleep! He ended his ſpeech by lamenting that his country ſhould be reduced to the poor dependence of hopes and prayers, the arms of old women; and that a Britiſh miniſter, inſtead of acting the ſtateſman, and timely exerting the ſtrength of the nation, ſhould dwindle into a prieſt, and piouſly offer up his prayers for the ſalvation of his country!

The queſtion was called for, and carried without a diviſion.

The order of the day for the ſecond reading of the Iriſh bills; the firſt of which, to take off the duty laid on the exportation of Iriſh ſail cloth, linens, &c. Sir Cecil Wray propoſed an amendment by adding the words "this day two months," inſtead of "now," which occaſioned a ſlight altercation; but was agreed to.

Next came on the ſecond reading of the ſecond bill "for the free importation to Ireland of all merchandize from America, Africa, and the Weſt Indies, &c." which was

likewiſe oppoſed by a ſimilar motion of Sir Cecil Wray, to introduce the words, "this day three months," inſtead of "now;" and which brought on a debate.

Sir *Cecil Wray* took a general review of the commercial ſtate of Ireland, and expreſſed his hearty wiſhes, that the Britiſh Parliament might render her every aſſiſtance in its power, without infringing on the trade of Great Britain; ſaid, he had no objection to admit of Ireland's participating equally with us of the benefits of a free trade, provided ſhe bore an equal ſhare of our national burthens;—but that was not the caſe; Ireland was computed to contain 2,000,000 of ſouls, and they were taxed at 1,000,000; 10s. each upon an average; that Great Britain having 6,000,000 of ſouls, and her taxes being 12,000,000, each inhabitant was taxed 40s. an aſtoniſhing difference, and ſuch as could not juſtify the introduction of the bills now depending. He well knew the grievances of the former country, and lamented them; among which were the Iriſh penſion liſt——the ſinecure offices——the Roman Catholic bills——the abſentees——and various others;——and aſſured the Houſe he would gladly join in redreſſing them; but the preſent buſineſs was of too ſerious and complicated a nature to be hurried through at the latter end of a ſeſſions; that, in his opinion, the trade of Ireland ſhould be referred to a committee, who ſhould minutely inveſtigate it, and report it to the Houſe, who might then take the whole into conſideration, and endeavour to relieve them. As to a rebellion in Ireland, in conſequence of a non-compliance with the preſent requeſt, he had no idea of it; the people at large were not intereſted in the event; a few merchants of Corke, Dublin, &c. might; but the wealthy and opulent were not the men for rebellion; they were the poor and indigent; if America had been rich, ſhe would never have been in rebellion; the rich only are calculated for ſlaves. If theſe bills paſſed, he would not anſwer but a rebellion might happen in England, becauſe our manufacturers would be out of employ; and as a further conſideration, a part of our ſea nurſery would be deſtroyed by the paſſing of theſe bills.

On the whole, Sir Cecil was of opinion, that the preſent meaſure was brought into the Houſe at a very improper time, when the minds of men were taken up with matters of the moſt ſingular importance; and, beſides, at the concluſion of the ſeſſion. A matter of ſuch magnitude, as overthrowing the whole ſyſtem of our trade laws, was not of light conſideration;

deration; and ought not to be hurried on in a ſudden and indecent manner. Beſides, the petitions on the table deſerved particular attention; the petitioners were men of a deſcription entitled to reſpect and a patient hearing; and he would appeal to the candour of gentlemen on every ſide of the Houſe, whether now, on the 6th of May, was a proper time to enter into ſo laborious and important an inveſtigation? He profeſſed the beſt diſpoſition towards the whole Iriſh nation; ſaid, he was ready to concur, at any time, in whatever might promote the true intereſt of that country; and if the amendment which he meant to propoſe ſhould meet the ſentiments of the Houſe, he would move for a committee, before the Houſe roſe, to take into conſideration, early in the next ſeſſions, the reſtrictive laws on the trade of Ireland; and do all in his power to forward the intereſts of that country, where they did not immediately interfere with thoſe of England.

Sir *Thomas Egerton* ſeconded the motion in behalf of his Mancheſter friends; ſaid, the loſs to Mancheſter, in checks only, if theſe bills paſſed, would be 100,000l. annually; begged the Houſe would at leaſt hear counſel for the different petitioning towns, before they paſſed them; and agreed in recommending the Iriſh trade to be referred to a committee, of which he would readily make one, and give it all the attention and aſſiſtance in his power.

Mr. *T. Townſhend* ſaid, the propoſition of going into a committee, was little better than a direct negative. It held out no ſecurity, but a vague promiſe to move a committee, which committee ſhould appoint another committee. On theſe grounds, he entirely diſapproved of the amendment, and would therefore give his vote, that the bill be read a ſecond time.

Earl *Nugent* particularly adverted to the motives which had actuated the petitioners againſt the bills, and in a peculiar manner he ſpoke to the conduct of the city of Glaſgow, who had, he ſaid, with the moſt illiberal ſentiments, prayed, that neither the preſent nor any future advantage ſhould be granted to Ireland, that might in the leaſt degree operate to the diſadvantage of Britain. He could not, he ſaid, beſtow upon this conduct a term vile enough; it was mean, unmanly, ungenerous, deſpicable, and even diabolical.

Sir *Adam Ferguſon* defended the city of Glaſgow againſt the charge of having entertained diabolical motives for their petition to the Houſe. He read the petition, and ſpoke

highly in favour of the liberality and philanthropy of the Glaſgow merchants, at the ſame time ſaying, they ſo far gave preference to their own, before any foreign country, that they could not ſee its intereſts violated, as they imagined, without exerting their endeavours to prevent it. If the bills before the Houſe paſſed into a law, the city of Glaſgow would in a very particular manner be affected by their tendency. They had, in common with the reſt of Scotland, embarked in the ſame bottom with England, and become liable to a proportion of the national debt, for the ſake of enjoying an equality of commerce. On that foundation they had laid out immenſe ſums of money in the cultivation of the ſugar-trade; they had conſidered it as an hereditary right, depending on the ſecurity of the acts in their favour; and it was, in a great degree, their only property and wealth. A great part of their annual returns flowed from Ireland, and they would be moſt materially injured if that kingdom ſhould participate the trade with them. He conſidered the preſent bills as improper on another account. By their paſſing, they would ſtand in the way of an union, which he conſidered as the only ſolid baſis of equality that could be built upon. He therefore hoped the Houſe would agree to the amendment.

Lord Viſcount *Midleton* ſaid, he had heard that the people of Mancheſter and Liverpool had determined, notwithſtanding their late exertions, to be no longer loyal if theſe bills ſhould paſs. He was ſenſible that theſe towns, as well as Glaſgow, were experienced in rebellion ſo abundantly, that the tranſition would be an object of eaſy accompliſhment, and the world would entertain little ſurprize if they threw aſide their new-fangled opinion. He could not enough wonder, that the honourable gentleman before him ſhould, of all men, plead the hereditary right of the city of Glaſgow to the commerce of the Engliſh, on the principle of having taken upon themſelves a proportion of the national debt. He thought a gentleman of that country ought to have been ſilent upon that head.

Lord *North* was of opinion, that as the expectations of the Iriſh were raiſed from what the Houſe had already done, it would be unwiſe to protract the buſineſs to another ſeſſion. The gentlemen who oppoſed the bill ſeemed all to agree in one point, that ſomewhat ought to be done for their relief, though they differed about the nature and extent of what ought to be done. He ſaw no reaſon, however, why the preſent bill ſhould not paſs, ſince the Houſe might, notwithſtanding,

ſtanding, appoint a committee to inquire into the ſtate of the trade, that from their report a plan might be formed and adopted. He did not ſee the mighty difficulty that was ſaid to exiſt, in calculating the difference neceſſarily to ariſe in the annual imports, by the effect of the bill before the Houſe. It would create ſmall difference, comparatively ſpeaking, in the revenue, ſince the diminution in the imports of one place would give an addition to thoſe of another, as the difference of duty on the enumerated articles was very trifling. He held it as the duty of Britain to give Ireland a degree, at leaſt, of recompence for the exertions ſhe had made, were we not inclined, by policy, to give her relief from the reſtrictions ſhe laboured under; and he hoped the Houſe would agree on the preſent bill, as a teſt of their intention and inclination to befriend her in future more ſubſtantially.

Mr. *Burke* anſwered the arguments of the honourable gentlemen who oppoſed the bill. The bills before the Houſe, he ſaid, were no more than reſtorations of what the wiſdom of a Britiſh Parliament had, on a former occaſion, thought proper to inveſt Ireland with. In the 12th of Charles II. the navigation bills paſſed, extending to Ireland as well as England. A kind of left-handed policy had, however, deprived her of the freedom ſhe enjoyed under that act, and ſhe had ever ſince remained under the moſt cruel, oppreſſive, and unnatural reſtriction. Deprived of every incentive to induſtry, and ſhut out from every paſſage to wealth, ſhe had inwardly lamented, but ſhe had never complained of her condition. She had gone the moſt forward lengths in ſerving the intereſt, and defending the rights of Great Britain. She had aſſiſted in conqueſts from which ſhe was to gain no advantage, and emptied her treaſury, and deſolated her land to prove her attachment and loyalty to the government of this country. Such had been her conduct, and her reward had been reſtriction and bondage of the moſt cruel nature. He did not mean, by deſcribing her ſituation, to engage the humanity of the Houſe in her favour. The people of Ireland would not accept of favours flowing from the humanity of the Houſe. They called for juſtice, not for pity. They requeſted Britain to be wiſe, not to be generous; to provide for her own good, and ſecure her own intereſt, ſenſible that wiſdom and prudence would dictate, that, to accompliſh theſe, a contrary conduct towards them was neceſſary.

The

The honourable gentleman who oppoſed the bill, had drawn into collection the arguments and reaſons they maintained to exiſt againſt all the bills, meaning, no doubt, thereby to prejudice the Houſe the more by their aggregate effect. Though he deteſted this inequitable mode of proceeding he would not evade the combat even on that ground, nor wiſh to engage the Houſe in favour of the bills, if he could not, in the fulleſt manner, anſwer every objection they had brought to every part. The honourable gentleman who had moved the amendment, wiſhed to reconcile the people of Ireland to delay, by pledging the honour of Parliament, that ſomething effectual ſhould be done in their favour next ſeſſion. He knew the temper of the Iriſh too well, to believe that they would ſit down ſatisfied with ſuch an aſſertion. They would conclude within themſelves, depending on experience for their guide, that the promiſe of ſomething to be done next ſeſſions, would alone produce the repetition of a promiſe for the ſeſſion following; and promiſe, repetition, and promiſe, from ſeſſion to ſeſſion, would be the only benefit they would receive. He did not conclude, that the denial of what even juſtice demanded of us in their favour, would produce rebellion and diſturbance in that country; their loyalty and zeal was ſuperior to complaint; they might deſpair, but they would not reſiſt. Other places, experienced in rebellion, had determined, it ſeems, to enter or not to enter into it, according as theſe bills were determined; but Ireland regarded more the welfare of the empire at large than the intereſt of itſelf in particular. They were patient and loyal, and therefore, he ſuppoſed, they were cruſhed, for it was the policy of the preſent day to forego the excellent and noble maxim of the Romans, *parcere ſubjectis et debellare ſuperbos*, for the infamous proverb of Britiſh growth, "Proud to be humble, and humble to be proud." He then went into a particular detail of the arguments of the honourable gentlemen relating to commercial advantage. The annual revenue of the two kingdoms had been exultingly, but moſt inequitably, drawn into compariſon, to prove that Ireland paid no proportion of tax. It was not the number of inhabitants that conſtituted the different ſpecific in the article of taxation between two countries; but the diſtinction of internal opulence and external advantage. Compare the two countries by that line, and it will be found that Ireland is taxed in a quadruple proportion more than England. The internal wealth, and the external advantage of trade and commerce

commerce is forty times greater in England than in Ireland. There is, therefore, no ratio of proportion preſerved in the mode of taxing the latter. She is taxed, without enjoying the means of payment. She is debarred the uſe of ſhoes and ſtockings, and yet ſhe is made to pay for them. Reſtricted from trading, ſhe enjoys no opportunity of acquiring wealth to defray and diſcharge the taxes impoſed upon her. Enlarge her means of payment, and in proportion to her ability enlarge her taxes. An equality of commercial advantage could not be eſtabliſhed between the two countries. The opulence of the one is a barrier inſuperable by the other. The great diſproportion of capital effectually deſtroys the poſſibility of an equality. The one can extend her mart of trade through every different channel of the univerſe; the other, reſtrained in her ability, cannot proſecute the ſame tract; and as the ability of the proceeding increaſes in the ſame proportion, in the progreſs of one as well as the other, the ſame proportion of advantage will ſtill remain. The Iriſh will be able to follow the Engliſh at equal diſtance, in every ſtage, both in the outſet and in the continuance, but they will never be able to accelerate their motion in order to overtake them. The lowneſs of labour is a nugatory argument; for until the inſtant that the price of labour is equal, the ſuperiority of manufacture will remain with the Engliſh. The price of labour riſes with the growth of manufacture, and is higheſt when the manufacture is beſt. The experience of every day tells us, that where the price of labour is higheſt, the manufacturer is able to ſell his commodity at the loweſt price. The difference of duty of the imported enumerated articles, is ſo abundantly overbalanced by the other advantages enjoyed by this country, that without it there could not be the ſmalleſt degree of competition in manufacture. Not one, however, of the enumerated articles is leſs taxed in Ireland than in England, except thoſe already permitted to her. For though the petitions on the table are moſt, if not all, tending to expreſs their fears of the conſequences of granting a free exportation of ſail-cloth and iron to the Iriſh; it is a fact, that they already enjoy a free exportation of theſe articles; and particularly he would remark of manufactured iron and ſteel, as he did, on a ſimilar occaſion, of ſail-cloth, that the petition ſerved to ſhew the foundation on which they all were laid, namely, mere conjecture. They had not felt from the reality what they dreaded from the idea, for an act exiſted at this time permitting

permitting the free exportation of manufactured iron; which, however, had not been profecuted, becauſe of the advantages enjoyed by the Engliſh. The only article imported under that act into England, was a quantity of cork-ſcrews, which, though it might be an evidence of their luxury in living, was but a feeble proof of their excellence of manufacture. But, indeed, every other inſtance, as well as this, ſerved to prove how erroneouſly they had formed their opinions upon this ſubject. Some years ago, when a bill was brought in for the free importation of woollen yarn into England, petitions were received from every different part of the country, complaining of the injury it would create; but now that they had experienced its effects, they felt and acknowledged its beneficial tendency. It was abſurd to think that a participation of manufacture would be detrimental to this country. Had we not ſeen the woollen manufacture planted in different parts of this country; and had we not alſo ſeen that the competitions had ſerved to advance both.

He concluded with lamenting, that in one inſtance he ſhould be directed by his conſcience to take a part againſt his conſtituents. It had been his invariable aim to protect their rights and intereſts, and to act at all times as became the ſenator and repreſentative of the people. In this inſtance he had dared to act contrary to the wiſhes, but not, he was ſenſible, to the intereſts of his conſtituents. He differed in opinion from them on the nobleſt principle, namely, from the conviction of his being in the right; and if, from his conduct in this buſineſs, he ſhould be deprived of his ſeat in that honourable Houſe, it would ſtand on record an example to future repreſentatives of the Commons of England, that one man, at leaſt, had dared to oppoſe his conſtituents when his judgment aſſured him they were in the wrong.

The Houſe divided, for the bill 126, againſt it 77.

A great number of petitions were preſented againſt the meaſures intended for the benefit of Ireland. Some of theſe petitions are doubtleſs of importance; but a ſelection is ſometimes liable to cenſure; therefore it has been judged moſt proper to inſert them all together, and to print them in a ſmaller type, in order to take as little room as poſſible.

A petition of the mayor, bailiff, and burgeſſes of the borough of Wigan, in the county Palatine of Lancaſter, was preſented to the Houſe, and read; ſetting forth, that the trade of the ſaid borough, *as well as of many* adjacent pariſhes and townſhips, hath for ſeveral years

years chiefly conſiſted, and now conſiſts, in the weaving and manufacturing of white cloths, canvaſs or ſail-cloth, checks, and other linen cloths, or cotton and linen mixed, for the conſumption of this country, as well as for exportation; and that the greateſt number of the inhabitants of thoſe places having been brought up in the ſaid manufactures, and having ſerved apprenticeſhips to the ſame, are thereby rendered unable to purſue any other buſineſs, ſo as to ſupport themſelves and families; and that the ſaid manufactures being chiefly made of yarn imported from Ireland, ſubject to a duty there, and to a conſiderable charge for commiſſion for buying, and for freight and inſurance upon the ſame to England, the petitioners have, with the deepeſt concern, obſerved the reſolutions of the Houſe of the eighth and ninth days of this inſtant April (amongſt others) "That all goods, wares, and merchandizes, being the produce or manufacture of the kingdom of Ireland (wool and woollen manufactures only excepted) or commodities of the growth, produce, or manufacture, of Great Britain, legally imported into Ireland, or foreign certificate goods legally imported from Great Britain into Ireland, be permitted to be exported directly from the ſaid kingdom in Britiſh ſhips navigated according to law, to be imported into any of the Britiſh plantations, or to any of the ſettlements belonging to Great Britain on the coaſt of Africa;" "That the duties now payable on the importation of cotton yarn, being the manufacture of Ireland, into Great Britain, do ceaſe, and be no longer paid;" "And that all ſail-cloth and cordage of the manufacture of Ireland, be permitted to be imported into Great Britain free of duty;" which, if paſſed into a law, will, as they apprehend, and are adviſed, enable the people of Ireland to manufacture and ſend goods to foreign markets cheaper than can be done in this country, by reaſon of the diſadvantages abovementioned, and the high price of proviſions, and other taxes and duties, to which the petitioners apprehend the people of Ireland are not ſubject; and as the abovementioned manufactures have been carried on in this country for a long ſeries of years, by which means many families have been drawn from other countries to follow the ſame employ, who have acquired ſettlements here, and depend wholly on the ſaid manufactures for ſupport, ſhould their wages be reduced lower than they now are, muſt neceſſarily become chargeable to the reſpective places to which they belong, which are already burthened with a very numerous poor, and other taxes, as much as the eſtates or inhabitants can bear; and that, although the petitioners may wiſh every encouragement to be given, as well to the inhabitants of Ireland as of every part of his Majeſty's dominions, yet they hope and truſt the Houſe will, at the ſame time, protect the manufactures of this country, ſo eſſential to the ſame, and by which ſo many thouſands of its inhabitants have depended, and now do depend, altogether for their ſupport: and therefore praying, that the ſaid reſolutions may not paſs into a law, or that the petitioners may have ſuch other relief in the premiſes as to the Houſe ſhall ſeem meet.

A petition of land owners, manufacturers, &c. of Wigan, was alſo preſented; containing the ſame allegations and prayer as in the preceding petition.

A petition of gentlemen, clergy, land owners, merchants, and manufacturers, of Preſton; ſetting forth, that the petitioners obſerve, by the votes, that a bill is ordered to be brought in, for the exportation of all goods, wares, and merchandizes, the produce or manufacture of the kingdom of Ireland, directly from the ſaid kingdom, in Britiſh ſhips, into any of the Britiſh plantations, or any of the ſettlements belonging to Great Britain on the coaſt of Africa (wool and woollen manufactures only excepted); for the importation of all goods, wares, and merchandizes, the produce of the Britiſh plantations, or of any of the ſettlements belonging to Great Britain on the coaſt of Africa, into the ſaid kingdom of Ireland (indigo and tobacco only excepted); for the importation of cotton-yarn, manufactured in Ireland, into Great Britain; and for the importation of ſail-cloth and cordage, manufactured in Ireland, into Great Britain, duty free: and alledging, that the linen manufactures, which have been at great expence eſtabliſhed, and are now carried on in the town and neighbourhood of Preſton, will be very greatly injured, if *not altogether ruined*, ſhould the ſaid bill paſs into a law; the advantages to

which

which the manufacturers have, by their labour and induſtry, entitled themſelves, will be thereby taken from them, the poor will be deprived of the means of ſupporting themſelves and their families, and the value of land in this part of the kingdom, which depends on the proſperity of trade, will not only be extremely reduced, but the inhabitants will be rendered unable to ſupport the great weight of public burthens, to which they at preſent ſo amply and cheerfully contribute; and therefore praying, that they may be heard by their counſel againſt the ſaid bill, and that the ſame may not paſs into a law, or that the petitioners may have ſuch other relief as to the Houſe ſhall ſeem moſt expedient.

A petition of ſeveral perſons, inhabitants of Bridport, Beamiſter, and Broadwindſor, manufacturers of ſail-cloth and cordage; ſetting forth, that the petitioners obſerve, by the votes, that a bill is depending, for permitting all ſail-cloth and cordage, of the manufacture of Ireland, to be imported from Ireland into Great Britain free of duty; and that, ſhould ſuch a law take place, the petitioners apprehend, from the great cheapneſs of proviſions and labour in that kingdom, and other local advantages, the Iriſh will ſoon be enabled to rival the manufactories of thoſe articles in Great Britain, in which caſe the petitioners will be deprived of their only remaining branches of trade, and their labourers and dependants muſt inevitably be reduced to the loweſt diſtreſs, no other manufactories to any conſiderable extent being carried on in either of theſe towns and pariſhes; and therefore praying, that the ſame may not paſs into a law.

A petition of manufacturers of glaſs, of Stourbridge and Dudley; ſetting forth, that the petitioners obſerve, there is a bill now depending before the Houſe, whereby glaſs, manufactured in Ireland, may be exported by the Iriſh, except into Great Britain; and that the petitioners do now, and for many years paſt have carried on the making of glaſs in the neighbourhood aforeſaid; and that the ſaid trade is charged with heavy duties laid on the materials uſed in carrying on the ſame, which duties leave a very conſiderable charge on all manufactured goods exported from this kingdom, although the petitioners are allowed a certain drawback on all goods ſo exported, ſuch drawback being materially leſs than the duties with which the petitioners are charged upon ſuch goods; and that the petitioners are apprehenſive, ſhould the ſaid bill be carried into a law, their trade will be materially injured, by the very conſiderable charge which, after deducting the allowed drawback, will remain upon their goods exported, ſhould the makers and manufacturers of glaſs in Ireland be allowed, by the ſaid bill, to export glaſs free from all duties, which, by enabling them ſo greatly to underſell the petitioners at foreign markets, would, in the apprehenſion of the petitioners, operate as a prohibition to the exporting the glaſs manufactures of this kingdom; and therefore praying, that they may be heard, by themſelves and counſel, againſt the ſaid bill paſſing into a law, or that they may have ſuch relief in the premiſes as to the Houſe ſhall ſeem meet.

A petition of merchants, and manufacturers of nails at Dudley; ſetting forth, that the petitioners obſerve, that leave is given to bring in a bill, for opening a free trade between Ireland and the Britiſh ſettlements in America and the Weſt Indies; and alleging, that there is a very large quantity of Ruſſia iron imported into this kingdom, a conſiderable proportion of which is manufactured into nails and many other articles in the ſaid town and neighbourhood; and that there is a duty of 2l. 8s. 6d. *per* ton paid on all Ruſſia iron imported here, and a drawback of the ſaid duty of about 1l. 18s. 6d. *per* ton on its exportation to Ireland, which gives them an advantage of nearly 17½ *per cent.* upon the raw materials; and that, if the ſaid bill ſhould paſs into a law, and the ſaid drawback on the exportation of Ruſſia iron into Ireland be ſtill continued, the petitioners have juſt reaſon to fear, that the great advantage they will have in this particular, together with the low*neſs of* their rents, proviſion, labour, and taxes, will deprive many thouſand induſ*trious manufac*turers in the neighbourhood of Dudley of the means of maintaining *themſelves and* families, and thereby neceſſitate them to emigrate, or ſtarve at home; *and that, taking it* in a more extenſive view, the petitioners conceive, ſhould ſuch a bill

paſs into a law, it will produce the moſt ſerious conſequences to this king- by leſſening the ſtrength and revenue thereof, the former by great emi- ns of various artificers from which the army is greatly recruited, the latter by rerifhing great numbers of induſtrious tradeſmen, and thereby rendering them e to bear the preſent heavy taxes; and therefore praying, that the Houſe will the premiſes into their conſideration, ſo that the petitioners may be placed at ipon an equal footing with the manufacturers of Ireland.

petition of merchants, traders, and manufacturers of Glaſgow; ſetting forth, he petitioners have ſeen printed copies of five different bills now depending, ting the trade and manufactures of Ireland, all of which, if paſſed into laws, ure of opinion, will tend greatly to the prejudice of the commerce and manu- es of Great Britain; and that the petitioners are well-wiſhers to the happi- nd proſperity of their fellow ſubjects in Ireland; but when they reflect that, the faith of the continuation of thoſe laws by which the commerce and manu- es of Britain have for ſo long a time been regulated, they have made all thoſe ſive eſtabliſhments ſo neceſſary for their buſineſs both in the commercial and manufacturing line, they cannot be ſilent under the view of being deprived ir wonted privileges, and thereby reduced from an affluent to an indigent for the petitioners cannot entertain a doubt, that the paſſing into laws the ow depending will very much diminiſh the commerce and manufactures of Britain; the natural advantages of Ireland are ſuch, as, in that event, to iſh in the ſaid kingdom many of thoſe manufactures by which Great Britain een enriched; by the loſs of thoſe manufactures, and the conſequent decreaſe r population, not only will the landed intereſt ſuffer exceedingly, but the nal reputation muſt alſo ſink, from the inability of the remaining people to pay taxes, which are ſo eſſentially neceſſary for the ſupport of government; and ugh it is very natural that the petitioners, from motives of private intereſt, d oppoſe the bills now depending, yet do they (although in the moſt dutiful reſpectful manner) beg leave to repreſent that, even upon the moſt liberal iples, the commercial privileges of Great Britain ought only to be extended oſe parts of the empire where the people pay taxes in proportion to thoſe levied the inhabitants of Britain; and, if the petitioners are not very much miſtaken, axes paid by the people of Ireland bear but a ſmall proportion to thoſe eſta- ed in Britain; and therefore, by paſſing into laws the bills now depending, an angement will be given to the trade and manufactures of Ireland, not only us to thoſe of Britain, but which the people of Ireland have no title, either ſtice or in policy, to receive; and therefore praying, not only that the bills depending may not be paſſed, but that no indulgence, which may be detri- al to the commerce and manufactures of Britain, may be allowed, until, by ng their proportional ſhare of the national expence, the people of Ireland ſhall me, in juſtice and in ſound policy, entitled to an unlimited freedom in com- e and manufactures; and that the petitioners may be heard, by counſel, inſt the bills abovementioned.

petition of the mayor and capital burgeſſes of Walſall, manufacturers of braſs iron; ſetting forth, that the petitioners obſerve, by the votes, that a bill is nding, for opening a free trade between Ireland and all the Britiſh ſettlements; that, ſhould ſuch a law take place, it will deprive great numbers of manu- rers in this kingdom of the means of maintaining themſelves and numerous ilies, or otherwiſe cauſe ſuch emigrations of manufacturers from this country to nd (where labour and proviſions of all ſorts are cheaper) as will enable that dom, in a few years, to rival the manufacturers of England; and therefore ing, that ſuch bill may not paſs into a law.

petition of the mayor, aldermen, citizens, and manufacturers of gloves, of ceſter; ſetting forth, that the petitioners obſerve, by the votes, that bills have read, for opening a free trade between Ireland and the Britiſh plantations and ments; and that, ſhould ſuch laws take place, the ſame will deprive great *bers of manufacturers* in this kingdom of the means of ſubſiſting themſelves

and families, particularly in the gloving branch, or otherwiſe cauſe ſuch emigration of manufacturers from this country to Ireland (where proviſions of all kinds are cheaper, and from whence ſkins are exported for this market, which pay a heavy duty) as will enable that kingdom, in a few years, to rival the manufactures of England; and therefore praying, that ſuch bills may not paſs into laws.

A petition of the mayor, burgeſſes, and commonalty, of Briſtol, under their common ſeal; ſetting forth, that the petitioners obſerve, by the votes, that five bills are brought in, for opening a free and direct trade between the kingdom of Ireland and the Britiſh plantations in America, and the ſettlements belonging to Great Britain on the coaſt of Africa, and to permit the importation of certain goods of the manufacture of Ireland into this kingdom duty-free; and that the petitioners apprehend, if ſuch bills were to paſs into a law, they would prove deſtructive to that great ſyſtem of commerce, manufacture, and revenue, happily adopted at the eſtabliſhment of thoſe plantations and ſettlements, and which has ever ſince been purſued with ſucceſs, and would be highly injurious to thouſands of manufacturers, who now maintain themſelves by honeſt induſtry; and the petitioners conceive, that it would be moſt unequal to grant a free importation into Ireland from the ſaid plantations and ſettlements, or to allow the manufactures of Ireland to be imported into this kingdom, except under the like regulations, and the ſame duties, as the people of this country are ſubject to; and therefore praying, that the ſaid bills may not paſs into a law.

A petition of the maſter, wardens, and commonalty, of the ſociety of merchant venturers of Briſtol, under their common ſeal; ſetting forth, that the petitioners have ſeen five ſeveral bills brought into the Houſe; one to permit the importation of certain goods from the Britiſh plantations in America, or the Britiſh ſettlements on the coaſt of Africa, into the kingdom of Ireland; another, to permit the exportation of certain goods therein mentioned directly from Ireland into any Britiſh plantation in America, or any Britiſh ſettlement on the coaſt of Africa; another, to permit the exportation of glaſs, manufactured in Ireland, from thence to any place whatſoever except Great Britain; another, to permit the importation of cotton-yarn, the manufacture of Ireland, into this kingdom, duty-free; and the other, to permit the importation of ſail-cloth and cordage, of the manufacture of Ireland, into this kingdom, duty-free; and that the petitioners apprehend, if ſuch bills were to paſs into a law, that great ſyſtem of commerce and revenue, which has been eſtabliſhed with ſo much conſideration, and at ſo much expence, would be at once overſet, and a torrent of miſchiefs unthought of and unforeſeen would be poured in upon this kingdom; and that the duties payable in Ireland, on almoſt every article of trade which concern the bills in queſtion, are vaſtly below the duties paid on thoſe articles in Great Britain; that proviſions are cheaper in Ireland than in England, and the labourers and manufacturers of Ireland are not ſubject to the ſame taxes as thoſe of Great Britain, all which circumſtances will furniſh Ireland with ſuch advantages over Great Britain as cannot be withſtood; and that the landed intereſt of this kingdom, ever benefited by the flouriſhing ſtate of trade and manufactures, will alſo be greatly injured by the means aforeſaid; for, beſides other circumſtances, thouſands of artizans, who now maintain themſelves by honeſt induſtry, would be deprived of the means of their ſubſiſtence, and muſt become burthenſome to their pariſhes; and the petitioners apprehend, it would be moſt unequal to grant ſuch advantages to Ireland, not paying the ſame taxes, or being ſubject to the ſame duties, as the people of this country; and that great numbers of ſhips and men are now employed to carry from this kingdom to Ireland the produce of thoſe countries, to which the bills in queſtion would admit them to a free and immediate trade, all which would be thereby rendered uſeleſs, and conſequently the ſtrength of the nation be diminiſhed; and therefore praying, that the bills in queſtion may not paſs into a law.

A petition of merchants, importers and manufacturers of hemp, iron, and ſteel, *of Briſtol; ſetting* forth, that the petitioners obſerve, by the votes, that bills are *depending, to permit* the exportation of goods (wool and woollen manufactures only

only excepted) being the produce or manufacture of Ireland, directly from thence to North America, the Weſt Indies, and any Britiſh ſettlements on the coaſt of Africa, and for allowing the importation of cordage into this kingdom duty-free; and the petitioners conceive, that, ſhould the ſame paſs into a law, the iron, ſteel, and hemp manufactures of this kingdom will ſuſtain the moſt fatal injury, and the export trade of their capital manufactories be nearly ruined, if not wholly annihilated; and that, as the duties on the raw materials of iron, ſteel, and hemp, now ſtand between the two kingdoms, and from the vicinity of Ireland to the markets, the cheapneſs of proviſions and labour, with other local advantages, in that kingdom, the petitioners, notwithſtanding all their ſkill in manufacturing, will be underſold at every market, and the furnaces, forges, mills, and other expenſive erections, to the amount of millions, will be greatly reduced in value, and ſome rendered totally uſeleſs; and that the baneful effects of theſe bills will not reſt ſolely on the merchants and manufacturers, but will extend in a very material degree to the landed intereſt of this kingdom, the woodlands and collieries will be exceedingly reduced in value, and the poor's rates in many parts of this kingdom will be greatly increaſed, by the thouſands of poor labourers thrown on their reſpective pariſhes for want of that employment now afforded them by the iron, ſteel, and hemp trade, and their dependencies; and that the petitioners apprehend, the import duties on the rough materials aforementioned will leſſen in proportion as the Iriſh manufactories increaſe, and ſuch diminution of the revenue creating a new demand will be the more grievous burthen on the public at large, as it will be produced by meaſures tending to bring on an inability of ſupporting their preſent increaſing taxes; and therefore praying, that they may be heard, by themſelves or counſel, againſt ſo much of theſe bills as affects them, and that the Houſe will grant them ſuch relief as ſhall ſeem meet.

A petition of ſeveral perſons, inhabitants of Yeovil, Preſton, Odcombe, Montacute, Eaſt Coker, Weſt Coker, Barwick, Eaſt Chinnock, Weſt Chinnock, Hardington, &c. ſetting forth, that the petitioners obſerve, by the votes, that bills are depending, to permit the exportation of ſail-cloth, with other goods, being the produce or manufacture of Ireland, directly from thence to North America, the Weſt Indies, and any Britiſh ſettlements on the coaſt of Africa; and for allowing the importation of ſail-cloth into this kingdom, duty-free; and alleging that, ſhould ſuch a law take place, the petitioners apprehend, from the great cheapneſs of proviſions and labour in Ireland, its ſuperior ſituation for foreign trade, and other local advantages, that kingdom will ſoon be enabled to rival Great Britain in the manufacture of that article, in which caſe the petitioners will be deprived of this important branch of trade, and their labourers and dependants muſt inevitably be reduced to the loweſt diſtreſs; and, as this branch of trade is the principal ſupport of a numerous poor, the baneful effects of this bill will not reſt ſolely on the manufacturers, but will be extended in a very material degree to the landed intereſt of this part of the kingdom; and therefore praying, that this bill may not paſs into a law.

A petition of the manufacturers of Aberbrothock; ſetting forth, that the five bills now depending in Parliament, for the enlargement of the trade of Ireland, will, one or all of them, if paſſed into a law, prove moſt deſtructive and ruinous to the trade and manufactures of Great Britain in general, and of this town and country in particular; and therefore praying the Houſe, to take the trade and manufactures of Great Britain into their moſt ſerious conſideration and protection, and not ſuffer any of the above-mentioned five bills to paſs into a law.

A petition of merchants, tradeſmen, and manufacturers, of Wolverhampton; ſetting forth, that the various iron manufactories of the ſaid town and its environs are now brought to the greateſt perfection; and that the petitioners, with the deepeſt concern, obſerve a bill is before the Houſe, for opening a free trade between Ireland and all the Britiſh ſettlements; and that ſhould ſuch a law take place, thouſands of our moſt ingenious manufacturers, now the ſupport of themſelves, and of many numerous families, will be deprived of a maintenance, and thereby be in-

duced to emigrate to Ireland for employment, to the manifeſt injury of the Engliſh trade; and therefore praying, that ſuch a bill may not paſs into a law.

A petition of gentlemen, merchants, traders, and manufacturers, of the county of Lancaſter; ſetting forth, that the petitioners obſerve, by the votes, that bills are depending, to permit the importation of ſail-cloth and cordage, of the manufacture of Ireland, into this kingdom, duty-free; to permit the importation of certain goods from the Britiſh plantations in America, or the Britiſh ſettlements on the coaſt of Africa, into the kingdom of Ireland; to permit the exportation of certain goods therein mentioned directly from Ireland into any Britiſh plantation in America, or any Britiſh ſettlement on the coaſt of Africa; to permit the importation of cotton-yarn, the manufacture of Ireland, into this kingdom, duty-free; and to permit the exportation of glaſs manufactured in Ireland from thence to any place whatſoever, except Great Britain; and that the petitioners apprehend, and are aſſured, that, in caſe the bills ſhould paſs into a law, the ſame will be highly detrimental to the revenues, commercial intereſts, and navigation, of this kingdom in general, and tend to the utter ruin of the manufactures and mercantile intereſts of this county in particular, and alſo greatly affect the landed intereſt thereof; and therefore praying, that they may be heard, by themſelves, or their counſel, againſt the ſaid bill, or bills, reſpectively, paſſing into a law.

A petition of the burgeſſes, manufacturers, and inhabitants of Newton, in the county of Lancaſter; ſetting forth, that the petitioners having obſerved, by the votes, that a bill is depending for opening a free trade between Ireland and all the Britiſh ſettlements; and, as they are thoroughly convinced that ſuch bill is pregnant with conſequences highly prejudicial to the intereſts of the kingdom in general, and of the county of Lancaſter in particular; therefore praying, that ſuch bill may not paſs into a law.

A petition of gentlemen, clergy, and inhabitants, of Warrington; ſetting forth, that the petitioners are informed, a bill is depending, for the importation of ſail-cloth and cordage from Ireland into this kingdom, duty-free; and alleging, that there is a very extenſive manufactory of ſail-cloth carried on in the ſaid town and neighbourhood, wherein many thouſands of induſtrious perſons are conſtantly employed; and, for the better and more commodious carrying on ſuch manufactory, great numbers of warehouſes, factories, workſhops, and other convenient buildings, applicable to that trade only, have been lately erected at a very great expence; and that the petitioners conceive the preſent bill will give ſuch advantages to the trade of Ireland, as will inevitably deſtroy the manufactory of ſail-cloth in the ſaid town and neighbourhood, which will neceſſarily oblige the manufacturers and workmen to emigrate, or elſe many poor perſons will be left chargeable upon the pariſh, and thereby the warehouſes, factories, workſhops, and buildings, erected for the uſe of the ſaid trade, will be deſerted, and become uſeleſs, and conſequently the value of lands and eſtates in the neighbourhood will be greatly reduced; and therefore praying, that the ſaid bill may not paſs into a law.

Another petition from the ſame; ſetting forth, that the petitioners are informed, a bill is depending, to permit the exportation directly from Ireland into any Britiſh plantation in America, or any Britiſh ſettlement on the coaſt of Africa, of any goods, wares, and merchandize, being the produce or manufacture of Ireland (wool and woollen manufactures only excepted), and all goods and commodities, of the growth, produce, or manufacture, of Great Britain, which have been, or may be, legally imported from thence into the ſaid kingdom of Ireland, and all foreign certificate goods which have been, or may be, legally imported from Great Britain into Ireland; and alleging, that there is a very extenſive manufactory of ſail cloth carried on in the ſaid town and neighbourhood, wherein many thouſands of induſtrious perſons are conſtantly employed, and, for the better and more commodious carrying on ſuch manufactory, great numbers of warehouſes, factories, *workſhops, and other* convenient buildings, applicable to that trade only, have *been lately erected* at a very great expence; and that the petitioners conceive the *preſent bill will give* ſuch advantages to the trade of Ireland, as will inevitably deſtroy

deſtroy the manufactory of ſail-cloth in the ſaid town and neighbourhood, which will neceſſarily oblige the manufacturers and workmen to emigrate, or elſe many poor perſons will be left chargeable upon the pariſh, and thereby the warehouſes, factories, workſhops, and buildings, erected for the uſe of the ſaid trade, will be deſerted and become uſeleſs, and conſequently the value of lands and eſtates in the neighbourhood will be greatly reduced; and therefore praying, that the ſaid bill may not paſs into a law.

A petition of tallow-chandlers and ſoapboilers of Liverpool; ſetting forth, that the petitioners are informed, a bill is depending, to make it lawful to export from the kingdom of Ireland, into any part of the Britiſh plantations in America, or the Weſt Indies, any goods, wares, or merchandize, being the produce or manufacture of Ireland (wool and woollen manufactures only excepted); and alleging, that the manufacturing of candles and ſoap for exportation to the Weſt India iſlands is, to the petitioners, the moſt important branch of their buſineſs, which branch, if the ſaid bill ſhould paſs into a law, they apprehend, would in a little time be totally loſt to this kingdom; and that the loſs of this valuable part of their trade would be a heavy and irreparable detriment to the petitioners and many others, who would thereby be deprived of the only means of ſupporting themſelves and families; and therefore praying, that the ſaid bill may not paſs into a law, or that ſuch other relief may be granted them as the Houſe ſhall judge meet.

A petition of merchants and traders in the town of Lancaſter, taking notice of the bill to permit the importation of cotton yarn, the manufacture of Ireland, into this kingdom, duty-free; and ſetting forth, that the petitioners apprehend, ſhould the ſaid bill paſs into a law, it would militate againſt the manufactures of this country; and therefore praying, that the ſaid bill may not paſs into a law.

A petition of gentlemen, merchants, mariners, traders, and manufacturers, of Liverpool, taking notice of the bill to permit the exportation of glaſs, manufactured in Ireland, from thence to any place whatſoever, except Great Britain; and ſetting forth, that ſo important a change in the great ſyſtem of commerce, which has been ſo long and ſo ſucceſsfully a rule of conduct in this kingdom, would, as the petitioners apprehend, occaſion much immediate miſchief, and be productive of very fatal conſequences in more diſtant times to the eſſential intereſts of Britain; and therefore praying, that the ſaid bill may not paſs into a law.

A petition of the merchants and traders of the town of Lancaſter, likewiſe taking notice of the ſaid bill; and ſetting forth, that the petitioners apprehend, ſhould the ſame paſs into a law, it will greatly affect ſeveral parts of this kingdom, and be very prejudicial to the manufacture thereof in this county; and therefore praying, that the ſaid bill may not paſs into a law.

A petition of merchants and traders of the town of Lancaſter, taking notice of the bill, to permit the importation of ſail-cloth and cordage, of the manufacture of Ireland, into this kingdom duty-free; and ſetting forth, that the petitioners apprehend, ſhould the ſame paſs into a law, it would be highly prejudical to the trade and manufactures of the ſaid town and its neighbourhood; and therefore praying, that they may be heard, by themſelves or counſel, againſt the ſaid bill.

A petition of ſeveral manufacturers of ſail-cloth, in Warrington, Lancaſter, Preſton, Kirkham, Liverpool, Preſcot, Farnworth, Wigan, and Ulverſtone, likewiſe taking notice of the ſaid bill; and ſetting forth, that the eſtabliſhing the manufacture of ſail-cloth in Great Britain, both as a branch of manufacture, and as a naval ſtore, for the ſafety of the ſtate, has been conſidered an object of ſuch national importance, that the legiſlature have thought it good policy, not only to impoſe very high duties upon the importation of foreign ſail-cloth, but alſo to grant bounties upon the exportation of Britiſh ſail-cloth, by means whereof that branch of manufacture is become eſtabliſhed, and the Britiſh manufacturers are enabled to ſupply his Majeſty's navy, as well as the export trade, at all times, with expedition and certainty; and repreſenting to the Houſe, that a duty of three pounds *per* ton, and upwards, is paid upon the importation of hemp into Great Britain, but that a duty of little more than one pound *per* ton only is paid upon the importation

thereof into Ireland, and that conſiderable quantities of flax and hemp are grown in Ireland, by which means the Iriſh have the raw materials cheaper than the Britiſh manufacturer; and as the prices of proviſions and labour are much lower in Ireland than in Great Britain, and their taxes comparatively light and eaſy, the Iriſh are able to manufacture ſail-cloth cheaper than it can be done in Great Britain; and that, relying on the ſtability and parliamentary regulations, the petitioners have expended great ſums of money, in procuring machines, implements, and utenſils, for carrying on the ſaid trade extenſively, by which many thouſands of his Majeſty's ſubjects are employed, and comfortably ſupported; but, ſhould the ſaid bill paſs into a law, the petitioners apprehend, the ſaid machines, implements, and utenſils, will be rendered uſeleſs, as they are not applicable to any other branch of manufacture; and, moreover, the public will ſuſtain great inconvenience, uncertainty, and delay, in time of war, by eſtabliſhing the manufacture of ſo eſſential an article of naval ſtore in Ireland, from whence it muſt be brought for the ſupply of the Britiſh navy, and be ſubject to the depredation of our enemies, commerce and navigation muſt ſuffer conſiderably, and the landed intereſt, ſo nearly connected therewith, cannot eſcape unhurt; and therefore praying, that they may be heard, by themſelves, or counſel, againſt the ſaid bill, and that the ſame may not paſs into a law.

A petition of gentlemen, merchants, mariners, traders, and manufacturers, of Liverpool, likewiſe taking notice of the ſaid bill; and ſetting forth, that ſo important a change in that ſyſtem, by which the commerce, manufactures, and revenue, of this kingdom have been ſo long and ſo ſucceſsfully regulated, would, as the petitioners apprehend, in the preſent diſtreſsful ſituation of trade, occaſion much immediate miſchief, and be productive of very fatal conſequences in more diſtant times to the landed intereſt, the naval force, the manufactures, and the commerce, of Britain; and therefore praying, that they may be heard, by themſelves or their counſel, againſt the ſaid bill.

A petition of gentlemen, clergy, and freeholders, of the county of Cheſter, aſſembled at a county meeting, taking notice of the bill to permit the importation of certain goods from the Britiſh plantations in America, or the Britiſh ſettlements on the coaſt of Africa, into the kingdom of Ireland; and ſetting forth, that the petitioners conceive, ſhould the ſaid bill paſs into a law, the ſame would be extremely detrimental to the commercial and landed intereſts of this county, and the public revenues of the kingdom in general would be thereby greatly diminiſhed; and therefore praying, that they may be heard, by their counſel, againſt the ſaid bill, and that the ſame may not paſs into a law.

A petition of gentlemen, tradeſmen, merchants, and land owners, of Stockport, againſt the ſaid bill; ſetting forth, that the petitioners conceive, ſhould the ſame paſs into a law, it would eſſentially injure the trade of Great Britain, by greatly diminiſhing both the imports and exports, and conſequently hurting the public revenues of this kingdom; and therefore praying, that they may be heard, by their counſel, againſt the ſaid bill, and that the ſame may not paſs into a law.

A petition of gentlemen, tradeſmen, merchants, and land owners, of Manchester, againſt the ſaid bill; ſetting forth, that the petitioners conceive, ſhould the ſame paſs into a law, it would be extremely detrimental to the land and commercial intereſts of the kingdom of Great Britain, and tend to diminiſh the public revenues of this kingdom; and therefore praying, that they may be heard, by their counſel, againſt the ſaid bill, and that the ſame may not paſs into a law.

A petition of gentlemen, clergy, land owners, manufacturers, and callicoe printers, of Blackburn, containing the ſame allegations and prayer as the laſt preceding petition.

A petition of the mayor, bailiffs, and common council, of Liverpool, likewiſe taking notice of the ſaid bill; and ſetting forth, that great ſums of money have been raiſed and expended, by virtue of ſeveral acts of parliament for the making of docks, erecting of lights, and rendering the port and harbour of Liverpool as ſafe and commodious as poſſible; and that, relying on the faith of the Houſe,

ſeveral

ſeveral perſons have been induced to advance conſiderable ſums of money, for the making and erecting ſuch docks, lights, and other improvements, for the conveniences of commerce, on the credit of the duties payable by virtue of ſuch acts; and that, in conſequence of ſuch conveniences and improvements, for the benefit of trade, numbers of foreigners, and others, have reſorted to, and ſettled here, for the purpoſes of carrying on different branches of commerce, to the great increaſe and emolument of the town of Liverpool, and the revenues of this kingdom; and that the number of ſhips and veſſels, which, for theſe ſeven years laſt paſt only, have ſailed, or been employed in the trade, from hence to the Britiſh plantations in America, and to the Britiſh ſettlements on the coaſt of Africa, amounts on an average, yearly, to 230, or thereabouts; and that the number of ſhips and veſſels, which, for theſe ſeven years laſt paſt only, have ſailed, or been employed in the trade from hence to Ireland (excluſive of thoſe employed in the coaſting trade from hence to other ports in Great Britain,) amounts, on an average, yearly, to 528, or thereabouts; and that, on only allowing five men to navigate each veſſel, the number of ſeamen employed in ſuch trade (for that period only) amounts, on an average, yearly, to 2640, or thereabouts; and, as the coaſting trade has been ever conſidered as the chief nurſery for ſeamen, it is humbly ſubmitted to the Houſe, whether it would not be rather dangerous to hazard the loſs of a trade ſo beneficial in its conſequences; and the petitioners are deſirous, that every encouragement may be given to the commerce and manufactures of Ireland, conſiſtent with the true intereſts and welfare of Great Britain; and therefore praying, that the ſaid bill may not paſs into a law, as thereby the ſecurities of ſuch perſons as have advanced the whole, or a conſiderable part of their fortunes on the credit of the ſaid dock and light duties, would be very conſiderably diminiſhed, thouſands of artificers, and others, inhabiting this town and neighbourhood, deprived of the means of their ſubſiſtence, whereby the poor rates would become inſupportable, and the docks, lights, and other improvements, of the port of Liverpool, conſtructed at an immenſe expence, (and which may vie with any in Europe,) be rendered, in a great meaſure, uſeleſs, and this once flouriſhing town reduced to its original inſignificance; and that the petitioners may be heard, by themſelves, or their counſel, againſt the ſaid bill paſſing into a law.

A petition of gentlemen, merchants, mariners, traders, and manufacturers of Liverpool, likewiſe taking notice of the ſaid bill; and ſetting forth, that ſo important a change in that ſyſtem, by which the commerce, navigation, and revenue of this kingdom, have been ſo long and ſo ſucceſsfully regulated, would as the petitioners apprehend, in the preſent diſtreſsful ſituation of trade, occaſion much immediate miſchief, and be productive of very fatal conſequences, in more diſtant times, to the population, revenue, naval force, and landed intereſt, of Britain, and therefore praying, that they may be heard, by themſelves, or their counſel, againſt the ſaid bill.

A petition of merchants and traders of Lancaſter, likewiſe taking notice of the ſaid bill; and ſetting forth, that the petitioners apprehend, ſhould the ſame paſs into a law, it would be extremely injurious to the commerce, manufactures, and navigation, of this kingdom, affect in its conſequences the landed intereſt, and be ruinous of the trade of the ſaid town in particular; and therefore praying, that they may be heard, by themſelves, or counſel, againſt the ſaid bill paſſing into a law.

A petition of James Buchanan, eſquire, in the name and on behalf of merchants, traders, and manufacturers, of Glaſgow, likewiſe taking notice of the ſaid bill; and ſetting forth, that, ſhould the ſame paſs into a law, it would be highly prejudicial to the trade and manufactures of Great Britain in general, and more particularly of the city of Glaſgow, by diſabling the merchants, traders, and manufacturers, of that city from carrying on hereafter, on equal terms, their trade with the Britiſh plantations in America, now their firſt and capital branch of commerce; and in which, on the faith of the laws now in being, they have inveſted the greateſt part of their fortunes; and therefore, on behalf of the merchants, traders, and manu-

facturers, of the city of Glaſgow, praying for leave to be heard, by himſelf or counſel, againſt the ſaid bill.

A petition of gentlemen, clergy, and freeholders, of the county of Cheſter, aſſembled at county meeting, taking notice of the bill to permit the exportation of certain goods therein mentioned, directly from Ireland into any Britiſh plantation in America, or any Britiſh ſettlement on the coaſt of Africa; and ſetting forth, that the petitioners conceive, ſhould the ſame paſs into a law, it would be extremely detrimental to the commercial and landed intereſts of the ſaid county, and that the public revenues of the kingdom in general would be thereby greatly diminiſhed; and therefore praying, that they may be heard, by their counſel, againſt the ſaid bill, and that the ſame may not paſs into a law.

A petition of gentlemen, clergy, merchants, and manufacturers, of Stockport; ſetting forth, that the petitioners obſerve, by the votes, that a bill hath been brought in, to permit the exportation of any goods, wares, and merchandizes, being the produce or manufacture of Ireland (wool and woollen manufactures only excepted), and of all goods and commodities, of the growth, produce, or manufacture, of Great Britain, which have been, or may be, legally imported from thence into the ſaid kingdom of Ireland, and of all foreign and certificate goods which have been, or may be legally imported from Great Britain into Ireland, directly from Ireland, into any of the Britiſh plantations in America, or the Weſt Indies, or into any of the ſettlements belonging to Great Britain on the coaſt of Africa; and that, ſhould the ſaid bill paſs into a law, it would be exceedingly oppreſſive, and even ruinous, to thouſands of the induſtrious manufacturers of the ſaid town and neighbourhood, who are at preſent employed in making checks, and various other goods, which require large quantities of linen yarn, which they import from Ireland, to the great advantage of the inhabitants of that kingdom, where the flax is grown, and where the ſame is ſpun into yarn, and bought with ready money by the Engliſh manufacturers, who allow to their factors in Ireland two *per cent.* commiſſion money, and pay to the Iriſh revenue one halfpenny *per* pound duty; and that this trade, the petitioners ſee clearly, would by the above law be taken from them, for, as the price of labour in Ireland bears ſo ſmall a proportion to that in England, they would be able to underſell the Engliſh both at home and in every foreign market, which would depreciate the value of their eſtates, and leave them ſuch a very great number of poor, that it would be impoſſible to ſupport them as the law requires, and contribute their ſhare towards eaſing the great burthens of the ſtate; and therefore praying, that they may be heard, by their counſel, againſt the ſaid bill, and that the ſame may not paſs into a law.

A petition of gentlemen, tradeſmen, merchants, and manufacturers, of Manchester; ſetting forth, that the petitioners are informed, a bill has been brought into the Houſe, to permit the exportation of any goods, wares, or merchandizes, being the produce or manufacture of Ireland (wool and woollen manufactures only excepted), and of all goods and commodities, of the growth, produce, or manufacture, of Great Britain, which have been, or may be, legally imported from thence into the ſaid kingdom of Ireland, and of all foreign certificate goods which have been, or may be, legally imported from Great Britain into Ireland, directly from Ireland, into any of the Britiſh plantations in America or the Weſt Indies, or into any of the ſettlements belonging to Great Britain on the coaſt of Africa; and alleging, that the linen manufactures, which have been at great expence eſtabliſhed, and are now carried on in the ſaid town and neighbourhood, will be ruined, and the cotton and other manufactures will be very greatly injured, ſhould the ſaid bill paſs into a law, and thereby the advantages to which the manufacturers have, by their labour and induſtry, entitled themſelves, will be taken from them, the poor will be, in a great meaſure, deprived of the means of ſupporting themſelves and families, the value of lands, which depends on the ſucceſs and proſperity of trade, will be extremely reduced, and the land owners and inhabitants will be *rendered* unable to ſupport the great weight of public burthens, to which they at preſent ſo amply contribute; and therefore praying, that they may be heard, by their

ſeveral perſons have been induced to advance conſiderable ſums of money, for the making and erecting ſuch docks, lights, and other improvements, for the conveniences of commerce, on the credit of the duties payable by virtue of ſuch acts; and that, in conſequence of ſuch conveniences and improvements, for the benefit of trade, numbers of foreigners, and others, have reſorted to, and ſettled here, for the purpoſes of carrying on different branches of commerce, to the great increaſe and emolument of the town of Liverpool, and the revenues of this kingdom; and that the number of ſhips and veſſels, which, for theſe ſeven years laſt paſt only, have ſailed, or been employed in the trade, from hence to the Britiſh plantations in America, and to the Britiſh ſettlements on the coaſt of Africa, amounts on an average, yearly, to 230, or thereabouts; and that the number of ſhips and veſſels, which, for theſe ſeven years laſt paſt only, have ſailed, or been employed in the trade from hence to Ireland (excluſive of thoſe employed in the coaſting trade from hence to other ports in Great Britain,) amounts, on an average, yearly, to 528, or thereabouts; and that, on only allowing five men to navigate each veſſel, the number of ſeamen employed in ſuch trade (for that period only) amounts, on an average, yearly, to 2640, or thereabouts; and, as the coaſting trade has been ever conſidered as the chief nurſery for ſeamen, it is humbly ſubmitted to the Houſe, whether it would not be rather dangerous to hazard the loſs of a trade ſo beneficial in its conſequences; and the petitioners are deſirous, that every encouragement may be given to the commerce and manufactures of Ireland, conſiſtent with the true intereſts and welfare of Great Britain; and therefore praying, that the ſaid bill may not paſs into a law, as thereby the ſecurities of ſuch perſons as have advanced the whole, or a conſiderable part of their fortunes on the credit of the ſaid dock and light duties, would be very conſiderably diminiſhed, thouſands of artificers, and others, inhabiting this town and neighbourhood, deprived of the means of their ſubſiſtence, whereby the poor rates would become inſupportable, and the docks, lights, and other improvements, of the port of Liverpool, conſtructed at an immenſe expence, (and which may vie with any in Europe,) be rendered, in a great meaſure, uſeleſs, and this once flouriſhing town reduced to its original inſignificance; and that the petitioners may be heard, by themſelves, or their counſel, againſt the ſaid bill paſſing into a law.

A petition of gentlemen, merchants, mariners, traders, and manufacturers of Liverpool, likewiſe taking notice of the ſaid bill; and ſetting forth, that ſo important a change in that ſyſtem, by which the commerce, navigation, and revenue of this kingdom, have been ſo long and ſo ſucceſsfully regulated, would as the petitioners apprehend, in the preſent diſtreſsful ſituation of trade, occaſion much immediate miſchief, and be productive of very fatal conſequences, in more diſtant times, to the population, revenue, naval force, and landed intereſt, of Britain, and therefore praying, that they may be heard, by themſelves, or their counſel, againſt the ſaid bill.

A petition of merchants and traders of Lancaſter, likewiſe taking notice of the ſaid bill; and ſetting forth, that the petitioners apprehend, ſhould the ſame paſs into a law, it would be extremely injurious to the commerce, manufactures, and navigation, of this kingdom, affect in its conſequences the landed intereſt, and be ruinous of the trade of the ſaid town in particular; and therefore praying, that they may be heard, by themſelves, or counſel, againſt the ſaid bill paſſing into a law.

A petition of James Buchanan, eſquire, in the name and on behalf of merchants, traders, and manufacturers, of Glaſgow, likewiſe taking notice of the ſaid bill; and ſetting forth, that, ſhould the ſame paſs into a law, it would he highly prejudicial to the trade and manufactures of Great Britain in general, and more particularly of the city of Glaſgow, by diſabling the merchants, traders, and manufacturers, of that city from carrying on hereafter, on equal terms, their trade with the Britiſh plantations in America, now their firſt and capital branch of commerce; and in which, on the faith of the laws now in being, they have inveſted the greateſt par of their fortunes; and therefore, on behalf of the merchants, traders, and manufactur

facturers, of the city of Glaſgow, praying for leave to be heard, by himſelf or counſel, againſt the ſaid bill.

A petition of gentlemen, clergy, and freeholders, of the county of Cheſter, aſſembled at county meeting, taking notice of the bill to permit the exportation of certain goods therein mentioned, directly from Ireland into any Britiſh plantation in America, or any Britiſh ſettlement on the coaſt of Africa; and ſetting forth, that the petitioners conceive, ſhould the ſame paſs into a law, it would be extremely detrimental to the commercial and landed intereſts of the ſaid county, and that the public revenues of the kingdom in general would be thereby greatly diminiſhed; and therefore praying, that they may be heard, by their counſel, againſt the ſaid bill, and that the ſame may not paſs into a law.

A petition of gentlemen, clergy, merchants, and manufacturers, of Stockport; ſetting forth, that the petitioners obſerve, by the votes, that a bill hath been brought in, to permit the exportation of any goods, wares, and merchandizes, being the produce or manufacture of Ireland (wool and woollen manufactures only excepted), and of all goods and commodities, of the growth, produce, or manufacture, of Great Britain, which have been, or may be, legally imported from thence into the ſaid kingdom of Ireland, and of all foreign and certificate goods which have been, or may be legally imported from Great Britain into Ireland, directly from Ireland, into any of the Britiſh plantations in America, or the Weſt Indies, or into any of the ſettlements belonging to Great Britain on the coaſt of Africa; and that, ſhould the ſaid bill paſs into a law, it would be exceedingly oppreſſive, and even ruinous, to thouſands of the induſtrious manufacturers of the ſaid town and neighbourhood, who are at preſent employed in making checks, and various other goods, which require large quantities of linen yarn, which they import from Ireland, to the great advantage of the inhabitants of that kingdom, where the flax is grown, and where the ſame is ſpun into yarn, and bought with ready money by the Engliſh manufacturers, who allow to their factors in Ireland two *per cent.* commiſſion money, and pay to the Iriſh revenue one halfpenny *per* pound duty; and that this trade, the petitioners ſee clearly, would by the above law be taken from them, for, as the price of labour in Ireland bears ſo ſmall a proportion to that in England, they would be able to underſell the Engliſh both at home and in every foreign market, which would depreciate the value of their eſtates, and leave them ſuch a very great number of poor, that it would be impoſſible to ſupport them as the law requires, and contribute their ſhare towards eaſing the great burthens of the ſtate; and therefore praying, that they may be heard, by their counſel, againſt the ſaid bill, and that the ſame may not paſs into a law.

A petition of gentlemen, tradeſmen, merchants, and manufacturers, of Manchester; ſetting forth, that the petitioners are informed, a bill has been brought into the Houſe, to permit the exportation of any goods, wares, or merchandizes, being the produce or manufacture of Ireland (wool and woollen manufactures only excepted), and of all goods and commodities, of the growth, produce, or manufacture, of Great Britain, which have been, or may be, legally imported from thence into the ſaid kingdom of Ireland, and of all foreign certificate goods which have been, or may be, legally imported from Great Britain into Ireland, directly from Ireland, into any of the Britiſh plantations in America or the Weſt Indies, or into any of the ſettlements belonging to Great Britain on the coaſt of Africa; and alleging, that the linen manufactures, which have been at great expence eſtabliſhed, and are now carried on in the ſaid town and neighbourhood, will be ruined, and the cotton and other manufactures will be very greatly injured, ſhould the ſaid bill paſs into a law, and thereby the advantages to which the manufacturers have, by their labour and induſtry, entitled themſelves, will be taken from them, the poor will be, in a great meaſure, deprived of the means of ſupporting themſelves and families, the value of lands, which depends on the ſucceſs and proſperity of trade, will be extremely reduced, and the land owners and inhabitants will be rendered unable to ſupport the great weight of public burthens, to which they at preſent ſo amply contribute; and therefore praying, that they may be heard, by their

their counſel, againſt the ſaid bill, and that the ſame may not paſs into a law, or that the petitioners may have ſuch other relief as to the Houſe ſhall ſeem moſt expedient.

A petition of gentlemen, clergy, land owners, manufacturers, and callicoe-printers, of Blackburn; ſetting forth, that the petitioners are informed, that a bill hath been brought into the Houſe, to permit the exportation of any goods, wares, or merchandizes, being the produce or manufacture of Ireland (wool and woollen manufactures only excepted), and of all goods and commodities, of the growth, produce, or manufacture, of Great Britain, which have been, or may be, legally imported from thence into the ſaid kingdom of Ireland, and of all foreign certificate goods which have been, or may be, legally imported from Great Britain into Ireland, directly from Ireland, into any of the Britiſh plantations in America or the Weſt Indies, or into any of the ſettlements belonging to Great Britain, on the coaſt of Africa; and alleging, that the trade of this town and neighbourhood, which chiefly conſiſts of cottons and callicoes manufactured from Iriſh linen yarn and Weſt-India cotton, and have been at great expence eſtabliſhed, will be totally ruined, ſhould the ſaid bill paſs into a law; and therefore praying, that they may be heard, by their counſel, againſt the ſaid bill, and that the ſame may not paſs into a law.

A petition of ſeveral manufacturers of ſail-cloth, of Warrington, Lancaſter, Preſton, Kirkham, Liverpool, Preſcot, Farnworth, Wigan, and Ulverſtone; ſetting forth, that the petitioners are much alarmed and concerned to ſee, by the votes, that a bill has been brought into the Houſe, to permit the exportation of certain goods, therein mentioned, directly from Ireland into any Britiſh plantation in America, or any Britiſh ſettlement on the coaſt of Africa; and the petitioners conceive, that the ſaid bill is meant to allow the exportation of Iriſh ſail-cloth; and that the eſtabliſhing the manufacture of ſail-cloth within Great Britain, both as a branch of manufacture, and as a naval ſtore for the ſafety of the ſtate, has been conſidered by the legiſlator as an object of great national importance; and that the fluctuating ſituation of the ſail-cloth trade ſubjects the manufacturer to many loſſes and inconveniences, from which other branches of manufacture are free; and that, in time of peace, their principal dependence and ſupport ariſes from the export trade to the Britiſh plantations, and the ſettlements belonging to Great Britain on the coaſt of Africa; but, if the propoſed bill ſhould paſs into a law, the petitioners conceive, that the ſail-cloth manufacture of this kingdom would be greatly prejudiced, and the Britiſh navy thereby reduced to the neceſſity of depending upon Ireland for a ſupply, which in time of war will be ſubject to the depredation of our enemies, as well as to many other diſappointments; and therefore praying, that the ſaid bill may not paſs into a law as it now ſtands; and that they may be heard, by themſelves or counſel, againſt the ſame, or ſo much thereof as can affect the article of Britiſh-made ſail-cloth.

A petition of merchants and manufacturers of Preſton; ſetting forth, that the petitioners obſerve, by the votes, that a bill is brought in, for the exportation from the kingdom of Ireland, directly into any of the Britiſh plantations in America or the Weſt-Indies, or into any of the ſettlements belonging to Great Britain on the coaſt of Africa, in veſſels which may lawfully trade to and from thoſe places, any goods, wares, and merchandizes, being the produce or manufacture of Ireland (wool and woollen manufactures only excepted), and all goods and commodities, of the growth, produce, or manufacture, of Great Britain, which have been, or may be, legally imported from thence into the ſaid kingdom of Ireland, and all foreign certificate goods which have been, or may be, legally imported from Great Britain into Ireland; and alleging, that the linen manufactures, which have been at great expence eſtabliſhed, and are now carried on in the town and neighbourhood of Preſton, will be greatly injured, if not altogether ruined, ſhould the ſaid bill paſs into a law, the advantages, to which the manufacturers have by their labour and induſtry entitled themſelves, will be thereby taken from them, the poor will be deprived of the means of ſupporting themſelves and families, and the value of

diſpoſe of for exportation to the Weſt India iſlands, and are in a great meaſure ſupplied with tallow neceſſary for carrying on their reſpective manufactories from Ireland, where they pay a duty on the exportation thereof to England, and alſo are ſubject to the freight, premium of inſurance, and other charges accruing thereupon; and that Ireland, by being exempt from theſe charges, will come at the materials for thoſe manufactures upon much cheaper terms, and would, in caſe the ſaid bill paſs into a law, entirely engroſs the export trade thereof to themſelves; and that the loſs of this valuable branch of buſineſs would be extremely injurious to the petitioners, as it is the natural and only vocation by which they have ſupported themſelves and families, and employed numbers of people to the benefit of the community in general; and therefore praying, that they may be heard, by themſelves or counſel, againſt the ſaid bill paſſing into a law.

A petition of the merchants and traders of Lancaſter; ſetting forth, that the petitioners apprehend, ſhould the ſaid bill paſs into a law, it would be extremely injurious to the commerce, manufactures, and navigation, of this kingdom, affect in its conſequences the landed intereſt, and be ruinous to the trade of the ſaid town in particular; and therefore praying, that they may be heard, by themſelves or counſel, againſt the ſaid bill paſſing into a law.

A petition of James Buchanan, eſq. in the name of merchants, traders, and manufacturers, of Glaſgow, likewiſe taking notice of the ſaid bill; and ſetting forth, that the petitioner apprehends, if the ſame ſhall paſs into a law, it will be highly prejudicial to the trade and manufactures of Great Britain in general, and more particularly to the city of Glaſgow, by diſabling the merchants, traders, and manufacturers, of that city, from carrying on hereafter, on equal terms, their trade with the Britiſh plantations in America, now their firſt and capital branch of commerce, and in which, on the faith of the laws now in being, they have inveſted the greateſt part of their fortunes; and therefore, on behalf of the merchants, traders and manufacturers, of the city of Glaſgow, praying for leave to be heard, by himſelf or counſel, againſt the ſaid bill.

A petition of gentlemen, tradeſmen, merchants, and land owners, of Mancheſter taking notice of the bill to permit the importation of cotton-yarn, the manufactur of Ireland, into this kingdom, duty-free; and ſetting forth, that the petitioner conceive, ſhould the ſaid bill paſs into a law, the ſame would be extremely detrimental to the land and commercial intereſts of the kingdom of Great Britain, and would tend to diminiſh the public revenues of this kingdom; and therefore praying, that they may be heard, by their counſel, againſt the ſaid bill, and that the ſame may not paſs into a law.

A petition of gentlemen, clergy, land owners, manufacturers, and callicoe printers, of Blackburn, containing the ſame allegations and prayer as the laſt preceding petition.

A petition of merchants and manfacturers of Preſton, likewiſe taking notice of the ſaid bill; and ſetting forth, that the cotton manufactures, which have been at a great expence eſtabliſhed, and are now carried on, in the town and neighbourhood of Preſton, will be greatly injured if not altogether ruined, ſhould the ſame paſs into a law, the advantages to which the manufacturers have, by their labour and induſtry, entitled themſelves, will be thereby taken from them, the poor will be deprived of the means of ſupporting themſelves and families, and the value of land in this part of the kingdom, which depends on the proſperity of trade, will not only be extremely reduced, but the inhabitants will be rendered unable to ſupport the great weight of public burthens to which they at preſent ſo amply and cheerfully contribute; and therefore praying, that they may be heard, by themſelves or counſel, againſt the ſaid bill, and that the ſame may not paſs into a law or that the petitioners may have ſuch other relief as to the Houſe ſhall ſeem moſt expedient.

A petition of James Buchanan, eſquire, in the name of merchants, traders, and manufacturers, of Glaſgow, taking notice of the bill to permit the exportation of glaſs, manufactured in Ireland, from thence to any place whatſoever except Great Britain

diſpoſe of for exportation to the Weſt India iſlands, and are in a great meaſure ſupplied with tallow neceſſary for carrying on their reſpective manufactories from Ireland, where they pay a duty on the exportation thereof to England, and alſo are ſubject to the freight, premium of inſurance, and other charges accruing thereupon; and that Ireland, by being exempt from theſe charges, will come at the materials for thoſe manufactures upon much cheaper terms, and would, in caſe the ſaid bill paſs into a law, entirely engroſs the export trade thereof to themſelves; and that the loſs of this valuable branch of buſineſs would be extremely injurious to the petitioners, as it is the natural and only vocation by which they have ſupported themſelves and families, and employed numbers of people to the benefit of the community in general; and therefore praying, that they may be heard, by themſelves or counſel, againſt the ſaid bill paſſing into a law.

A petition of the merchants and traders of Lancaſter; ſetting forth, that the petitioners apprehend, ſhould the ſaid bill paſs into a law, it would be extremely injurious to the commerce, manufactures, and navigation, of this kingdom, affect in its conſequences the landed intereſt, and be ruinous to the trade of the ſaid town in particular; and therefore praying, that they may be heard, by themſelves or counſel, againſt the ſaid bill paſſing into a law.

A petition of James Buchanan, eſq. in the name of merchants, traders, and manufacturers, of Glaſgow, likewiſe taking notice of the ſaid bill; and ſetting forth, that the petitioner apprehends, if the ſame ſhall paſs into a law, it will be highly prejudicial to the trade and manufactures of Great Britain in general, and more particularly to the city of Glaſgow, by diſabling the merchants, traders, and manufacturers, of that city, from carrying on hereafter, on equal terms, their trade with the Britiſh plantations in America, now their firſt and capital branch of commerce, and in which, on the faith of the laws now in being, they have inveſted the greateſt part of their fortunes; and therefore, on behalf of the merchants, traders, and manufacturers, of the city of Glaſgow, praying for leave to be heard, by himſelf or counſel, againſt the ſaid bill.

A petition of gentlemen, tradeſmen, merchants, and land owners, of Manchester, taking notice of the bill to permit the importation of cotton-yarn, the manufacture of Ireland, into this kingdom, duty-free; and ſetting forth, that the petitioners conceive, ſhould the ſaid bill paſs into a law, the ſame would be extremely detrimental to the land and commercial intereſts of the kingdom of Great Britain, and would tend to diminiſh the public revenues of this kingdom; and therefore praying, that they may be heard, by their counſel, againſt the ſaid bill, and that the ſame may not paſs into a law.

A petition of gentlemen, clergy, land owners, manufacturers, and callicoe printers, of Blackburn, containing the ſame allegations and prayer as the laſt preceding petition.

A petition of merchants and manfacturers of Preſton, likewiſe taking notice of the ſaid bill; and ſetting forth, that the cotton manufactures, which have been at a great expence eſtabliſhed, and are now carried on, in the town and neighbourhood of Preſton, will be greatly injured if not altogether ruined, ſhould the ſame paſs into a law, the advantages to which the manufacturers have, by their labour, and induſtry, entitled themſelves, will be thereby taken from them, the poor will be deprived of the means of ſupporting themſelves and families, and the value of land in this part of the kingdom, which depends on the proſperity of trade, will not only be extremely reduced, but the inhabitants will be rendered unable to ſupport the great weight of public burthens to which they at preſent ſo amply and cheerfully contribute; and therefore praying, that they may be heard, by themſelves or counſel, againſt the ſaid bill, and that the ſame may not paſs into a law or that the petitioners may have ſuch other relief as to the Houſe ſhall ſeem meet expedient.

A petition of James Buchanan, eſquire, in the name of merchants, traders, and manufacturers, of Glaſgow, taking notice of the bill to permit the exportation of glaſs, manufactured in Ireland, from thence to any place whatſoever except Great Britain

Britain; and ſetting forth, that the petitioner apprehends, if the ſame ſhall paſs into a law, it will be highly prejudicial to the trade and manufacture of Great Britain in general, and more particularly to the city of Glaſgow, as, from the inequality of taxes, the low price of labour, and the great plenty and cheapneſs of proviſions, in Ireland, the merchants and manufacturers of that kingdom will be enabled to ſell this commodity, at foreign markets, cheaper than the merchants and manufacturers of this country; and therefore, on behalf of the merchants, traders, and manufacturers, of the city of Glaſgow, praying for leave to be heard, by himſelf or counſel, againſt the ſaid bill.

A petition of ſeveral perſons of Bridport, Beamiſter, Broadwindſor, manufacturers of ſail-cloth and cordage; ſetting forth, that the petitioners, ſince they preſumed to petition the Houſe againſt the bill for permitting all ſail-cloth and cordage of the manufacture of Ireland to be imported into this kingdom free of duty, have further obſerved that another bill is depending, for permitting, in like manner, any goods, wares, and merchandize, being the produce or manufacture of Ireland (wool and woollen manufactures only excepted), to be exported from the kingdom of Ireland directly into any of the Britiſh plantations in America or the Weſt Indies, or into any of the ſettlements belonging to Great Britain on the coaſt of Africa; and that ſail-cloth and cordage being of courſe included, the conſequence of the ſaid bill, jointly with that of the other, ſhould they both paſs into laws, the petitioners conceive, will be not a partial rivalſhip only, but the entire ruin of thoſe manufactures in this kingdom, at leaſt in thi part of it, as the Iriſh, beſides the means of manufacturing theſe commodities cheaper, appear to poſſeſs ſuch advantages, in point of ſituation, and other circumſtances, for exports to the plantations and ſettlements, as muſt enable them to underſell us abroad in a ſtill greater degree than at home; and therefore praying, that the ſaid bill may not paſs into a law.

A petition of the tallow-chandlers of London, ſetting forth, that the petitioners obſerve by the votes, that a bill is depending, to permit the exportation of certain goods, therein mentioned, directly from Ireland into any Britiſh plantation in America, or any Britiſh ſettlement on the coaſt of Africa; and that, ſhould ſuch a bill paſs into a law, the petitioners will be greatly injured, as the trade of exporting candles from hence would thereby be entirely loſt; and therefore praying, that ſuch bill may not paſs into a law

A petition of gentlemen, merchants, traders, and manufacturers, of Lancaſter, taking notice of the bill to permit the importation of ſail-cloth and cordage, of the manufacture of Ireland, into this kingdom, duty-free; and ſetting forth, that the petitioners apprehend, and are aſſured, that, in caſe the ſaid bill ſhould paſs into a law, the ſame will be highly detrimental to the revenues, commercial intereſts, and navigation of this kingdom in general, and tend to the utter ruin of the manufactures and mercantile intereſts of the county of Lancaſter in particular, and ſo greatly affect the landed intereſt thereof; and therefore praying, that they may be heard, by themſelves or their counſel, againſt the ſaid bill paſſing into a law.

A petition of James Buchanan, eſquire, in the name of merchants, traders, and manufacturers, of Glaſgow, likewiſe taking notice of the ſaid bill; and ſetting forth, that the petitioner apprehends, if the ſame ſhall paſs into a law, it will be highly prejudicial to the manufactures of this country in general, and to the city and neighbourhood of Glaſgow in particular; and therefore, in the name, and on behalf, of the merchants, traders, and manufacturers, of the city of Glaſgow, praying, that he may be heard, by himſelf or counſel, againſt the ſaid bill.

A petition of gentlemen, merchants, traders, and manufacturers, of Lancaſter, taking notice of the bill to permit the importation of certain goods from the Britiſh plantations in America, or the Britiſh ſettlements on the coaſt of Africa, into the kingdom of Ireland; and ſetting forth, that the petitioners apprehend, and are aſſured, that, in caſe the ſaid bill ſhould paſs into a law, the ſame will be highly detrimental to the revenues, commercial intereſts, and navigation, of this kingdom in general, and tend to the utter ruin of the manufactures and mercantile intereſts of

of the county of Lancaſter in particular, and alſo greatly affect the landed intereſt thereof; and therefore praying, that they may be heard, by themſelves or their counſel, againſt the ſaid bill paſſing into a law.

A petition of maſter, wardens, and commonalty, of the ſociety of chandlers and ſoap-makers, of Briſtol, under their common-ſeal, taking notice of the bill to permit the exportation of certain goods, therein mentioned, directly from Ireland into any Britiſh plantation in America, or any Britiſh ſettlement on the coaſt of Africa; and ſetting forth, that, ſhould the ſame paſs into a law, his Majeſty's revenue will be greatly injured, and the export trade of ſoap and candles from this kingdom totally loſt, as tallow, a principal raw material uſed in England for that manufacture, as alſo kelp, are imported from Ireland, under an export duty in that kingdom, beſides other charges of commiſſion, freight, and inſurance, and kelp, together with ſalt, oil, and barilla, (other materials of which ſoap is made), are chargeable with heavy duties here, and very little in Ireland; and therefore praying, that ſuch bill may not paſs into a law, and that they may be heard by themſelves or counſel.

A petition of gentlemen, merchants, traders, and manufacturers, of the county of Lancaſter, likewiſe taking notice of the ſaid bill; and ſetting forth, that the petitioners apprehend, and are aſſured, that, in caſe the ſaid bill ſhould paſs into a law, the ſame will be highly detrimental to the revenues, commercial intereſts, and navigation of this kingdom in general, and tend to the utter ruin of the manufactures and mercantile intereſts of the county of Lancaſter in particular, and alſo greatly affect the landed intereſt thereof; and therefore praying, that they may be heard, by themſelves or their counſel, againſt the ſaid bill paſſing into a law.

A petition of gentlemen, merchants, traders, and manufacturers, of the county of Lancaſter, taking notice of the bill to permit the importation of cotton yarn, the manufacture of Ireland, into this kingdom, duty-free; and ſetting forth, that the petitioners apprehend, and are aſſured, that, in caſe the ſaid bill ſhould paſs into a law, the ſame will be highly detrimental to the revenues, commercial intereſts, and navigation, of this kingdom in general, and tend to the utter ruin of the manufactures and mercantile intereſts of the county of Lancaſter in particular, and alſo greatly affect the landed intereſt thereof; and therefore praying, that they may be heard, by themſelves or their counſel, againſt the ſaid bill paſſing into a law.

A petition of gentlemen, merchants, traders, and manufacturers, of Lancaſter, taking notice of the bill to permit the exportation of glaſs, manufactured in Ireland, from thence to any place whatſoever, except Great Britain; and ſetting forth, that the petitioners apprehend, and are aſſured, that, in caſe the ſaid bill ſhould paſs into a law, the ſame will be highly detrimental to the revenues, commercial intereſts, and navigation of this kingdom in general, and tend to the utter ruin of the manufactures and mercantile intereſts of the county of Lancaſter in particular, and alſo greatly affect the landed intereſt thereof; and therefore praying, that they may be heard, by themſelves or their counſel, againſt the ſaid bill paſſing into a law.

A petition of the glaſs manufacturers of Briſtol, taking notice of the bill to permit the exportation of glaſs, manufactured in Ireland, from thence to any place whatſoever, except Great Britain; and ſetting forth, that the petitioners apprehend, if the ſame ſhould paſs into a law, it would tend greatly to the prejudice of the petitioners, and, in a degree, to the ruin of their trade and manufacture, which they have with great difficulty, and at vaſt expence, brought to its preſent perfection; and that the manufacturers in Ireland are not charged with any duty on glaſs; that they have kelp (a very conſiderable article in the glaſs manufactory) at about one half the price it coſts the petitioners; and the petitioners do not, in crown or flint glaſs, draw back on exportation more than half the duty they pay; and that theſe great advantages will enable them to underſell the petitioners at foreign markets, and muſt deprive them of that trade, which is the very life and being of the glaſs manufactory in the city of Briſtol; and that the petitioners conceive it will likewiſe be a conſiderable loſs to the revenue, as the kelp uſed in the manufactory

manufactory of glaſs is chiefly the produce of Ireland, and, upon the importation of it into England, a conſiderable duty is paid; and that theſe alarming circumſtances induce the petitioners to beg that the Houſe will take the premiſes into their conſideration, and afford them ſuch relief as ſhall ſeem meet.

A petition of the ſugar refiners of London; ſetting forth, that the petitioners find there are bills depending before the Houſe, reſpecting the giving leave for a free importation of goods, wares, and merchandize, of the growth, product, or manufacture, of the Britiſh plantations in America and the Weſt Indies, or of any of the ſettlements belonging to Great Britain on the coaſt of Africa, and which are required to be imported from thence into Great Britain; and the petitioners conceive, that, if the ſaid bills ſhould in their preſent form paſs into a law, they would thereby be greatly injured; and therefore praying the Houſe, to take into their ſerious conſideration the comparative view of the coſt of Britiſh Muſcovado ſugars in Great Britain and Ireland, whereby it will appear, that the people of Ireland do at preſent import ſugars at a much lower rate than the people of England; and therefore the inhabitants of Ireland, in reſpect to that commodity, being not aggrieved, the petitioners pray, that the word "ſugar" may be included in the exceptions of the bill.

A petition of the manufacturers of glaſs, in London, and in the counties of Middleſex, Surrey, and Stafford, taking notice of the bill to permit the exportation of certain goods therein mentioned, directly from Ireland into any Britiſh plantation in America, or any Britiſh ſettlement on the coaſt of Africa; and ſetting forth, that the petitioners apprehend, in caſe the ſaid bill ſhould paſs into a law, the ſame would be very injurious to, if not the total ruin of, themſelves, in the manufacture of glaſs in particular, and a great loſs to the revenue and commercial intereſts of this kingdom; and therefore praying, that the Houſe will permit the petitioners to be heard, by themſelves or their counſel, in oppoſition to the ſaid bill; or that ſuch relief may be granted to them as ſhall ſeem fit.

A petition of the mayor, aldermen, and common council, merchants, and inhabitants, of Exeter; ſetting forth, that the petitioners being informed, that ſeveral bills are depending before the Houſe, granting an extenſion of the trade of Ireland; and notwithſtanding the petitioners conceive the exceptions prohibiting the exportation of woollens are to continue in force, yet they beg leave to expreſs their fears, that, ſhould the ſaid bills paſs into laws, the clandeſtine export of Iriſh woollens will greatly increaſe; and the petitioners are very apprehenſive, from a comparative view of the prices of labour and proviſions, and the difference of the taxes in both kingdoms, that ſuch laws will be productive of many other evils, and occaſion inexpreſſible injury and irreparable loſs to this nation; the petitioners therefore, dreading ſuch fatal conſequences, but ſincerely wiſhing their ſiſter kingdom may have every relief this country can properly grant, pray, that the further proſecution of the ſaid bills may be deferred until next ſeſſion of Parliament, that, in the mean time, objects ſo important and extenſive may be thoroughly examined and digeſted.

All theſe petitions were at different times preſented to the Houſe and read; and all ordered to lie upon the table.

May 7.

No debate.

May 8.

Sir *William Meredith* moved, That an humble addreſs be preſented to his Majeſty, to have all letters, or extracts of letters, laid before the Houſe, that may have been received by any of his Majeſty's miniſters or commiſſioners of the admiralty, or other boards, relating to

to the equipment of the fleet that hath lately ſailed from Toulon.

Agreed to.

Adjourned to May 11.

May 11.

Heard counſel and evidence on the Iriſh bill. When thoſe for this day were finiſhed,

Colonel *Barré* moved, That an humble addreſs be preſented to his Majeſty, requeſting that his Majeſty will be graciouſly pleaſed to give directions that the remains of WILLIAM PITT, EARL OF CHATHAM, be interred at the public expence; [and that a monument be erected] in the collegiate church of St. Peter, Weſtminſter, to the memory of that great and excellent ſtateſman, with an inſcription, expreſſive of the ſentiments of the people on ſo great and irreparable a loſs, and to aſſure his Majeſty that this Houſe would make good the expence attending the ſame.

[The Earl died this morning, at his ſeat at Hayes, in Kent.]

Right Hon. *Thomas Townſhend* ſeconded the motion.

Mr. *Rigby*, after expreſſing his great reſpect for that ſtateſman's unrivalled talents, and his regret that his country ſhould be deprived of them at a time when they were ſo much wanted by her, declared, that no man in the Houſe, revered him living more than he did, though he ſometimes differed from him in politics; but the noble Earl's virtues had made an indelible impreſſion on his mind, and the very laſt words he ever ſpoke in Parliament, particularly commanded his gratitude and admiration. He therefore certainly would vote for the motion, if the Honourable gentlemen ſhould think proper to perſiſt in it; but with ſome diffidence he begged leave to ſay, that he thought a monument to his memory would be a more eligible, as well as a more laſting teſtimony of the public gratitude than the defraying of his funeral honours.

Mr. *Townſhend* would have ſpoken in reply to Mr. Rigby, but ſorrow choaked his utterence, and he found himſelf obliged to ſit down; recovering himſelf however in a few minutes, he delivered a ſhort but moſt feeling eulogium on the merits of the deceaſed peer, and concluded by expreſſing his affliction, that he ſhould be ſnatched from us at a time when his country was in ſo much want of his abilities.

Mr.

Mr. *Dunning* ſaid, he could not ſuppoſe there could be two opinions in the Houſe on ſuch a motion, in point of principle, though there might be ſome difference of ſentiment upon the modes of expreſſing our ſenſations; for his part, he thought the two propoſitions were in no degree oppoſite, and, therefore, he moved, as an amendment, That the monument ſhould be included as an object of addreſs to his Majeſty.

Lord *North* then entering in great haſte, declared his happineſs in arriving time enough to give his vote for the motion, which he hoped would be carried unanimouſly; and he lamented, that he had not breath enough, from the hurry in which he came, to expreſs himſelf with the degree of reſpect which he wiſhed to ſhew on ſo great an occaſion.

Agreed to unanimouſly.

May 12.

No debate.

May 13.

Lord *North*, by his Majeſty's command, aſſured the Houſe, that his Majeſty readily agreed to their addreſs, reſpecting the interment of the Earl of Chatham, and the erecting a monument to the memory of that great and excellent ſtateſman.

Lord *John Cavendiſh* ſaid, he hoped the public gratitude would not ſtop here. As that invaluable man had, whilſt in the nation's ſervice, neglected his own, and though he had the greateſt opportunity of enriching himſelf, had never made any proviſion for his family, he hoped an ample proviſion would be made for the deſcendants of ſo honeſt and able a miniſter.

Lord *North* coincided heartily in the noble Lord's wiſh; and Lord Nugent, Mr. Byng, Mr. Fox, Mr. Montagu, &c. expreſſed the warmeſt eulogiums on the virtue of the deceaſed peer, who had always ſuffered his private intereſt to be ſwallowed up in his attachment to the public good.

Mr. *T. Townſhend* moved an addreſs to his Majeſty, expreſſive of the wiſhes of Parliament on this point, and aſſuring his Majeſty, that whatever bounties he ſhould beſtow on the family of the deceaſed Earl, ſhould be cheerfully provided for by that Houſe. The motion paſſed unanimouſly.

Counſel were called in againſt the Iriſh bills.

May

May 14.

Sir *George Savile* moved for leave to bring in a bill for the repeal of certain penalties and diſabilities provided in an act of the 10th and 11th of William the Third; intituled, "An act to prevent the further growth of popery." As an incentive to the repeal of thoſe penalties inflicting ſuch violent ſeverities on papiſts, he adverted to the peaceable and loyal behaviour of that part of the people under a government, which, though it was not ſevere in enforcing, yet ſuffered ſuch intolerable penalties and diſqualifications to ſtand againſt them on the ſtatutes. As an inſtance of the little danger there was likely to ariſe from this liberal procedure of Parliament, he mentioned their late royal addreſs to the crown, in which they not only expreſſed their obedience to the government under which they lived, but a degree of attachment to the conſtitution upon which the civil rights of this country have been eſtabliſhed by the Revolution, which placed the preſent family upon the throne of theſe kingdoms; and, as a further ſecurity, he propoſed that a ſufficient teſt might be formed by which they ſhould bind themſelves to the ſupport of the civil government by law eſtabliſhed.

Mr. *Dunning* ſeconded the motion, and went into a legal diſcuſſion of the principles, object, and paſt operation of the bill which was intended to be repealed. He took up the penalties of the bills under three ſeparate heads. Firſt, the puniſhment of popiſh prieſts or jeſuits who ſhould be found to teach or officiate in the ſervices of that church, which acts were felony in foreigners, and high treaſon in the natives of this kingdom.——Secondly, the forfeitures of popiſh heirs, who had received their education abroad, which gave their eſtates to the next proteſtant heir, and the power given to the ſon or other neareſt relation, being a proteſtant, to take the poſſeſſion of the papiſt's eſtate, during his life—and laſtly, the depriving papiſts from acquiring any real property by purchaſe—which word, in the legal meaning, had a much greater latitude than in the ordinary ſenſe; for it applied to all real property acquired by any other means than that of deſcent.

Theſe were the objects of the propoſed repeal. Some of them had now ceaſed to be neceſſary, and others were at all times a diſgrace to humanity. The impriſonment of a popiſh prieſt for life, on the account of his officiating in the ſervices of his religion, was horrible in its nature; and to an Engliſhman

was firſt to determine how far they thought it ſafe to allow the free preaching and teaching of that religion. When this point had been ſettled, acts could be framed accordingly: then the buſineſs could be effected on fixed principles, and not by piecemeal.

Lord *Beauchamp* expreſſed his ſatisfaction that this motion appeared ſo agreeable to the Houſe in general that it was not likely to meet one diſſentient voice; and it gave him the more pleaſure at this time, as he thought the commercial advantages that Parliament now meant to beſtow on Ireland would be of very little uſe to that country, unleſs it was accompanied by a repeal of their penal laws, which ſo long depreſſed three-fourths of the people there; and this bill he hoped would, when paſſed, be an example to the Iriſh Parliament, in whoſe power it was to give that relief to their brethren; and he was ſorry to ſay he thought, though their faith was in ſome degree pledged for the effect of ſome ſuch meaſure, nothing had yet been done for that people. They had begged to have a teſt of loyalty and obedience to the government given them—that teſt was made, and taken by a large and reſpectable number of Roman Catholics, yet nothing had yet been granted them in return for that teſt; nay more, when a bill had been brought into the Iriſh Parliament to allow papiſts to take building leaſes in corporate towns, that moſt reaſonable indulgence was ungenerouſly refuſed them.

Something, he ſaid, might be ſuggeſted in excuſe with relation to the late diſturbances in the ſouth-weſt part of Ireland; but he aſſured the Houſe, that he never knew a Roman Catholic of property in that country who did not expreſs the greateſt abhorrence of thoſe violences; and he was convinced, that it was want of employment, want of induſtry, and want of reward for labour, that cauſed them; and he concluded with a declaration, that he did not think the little indulgence which was now propoſed to be given the Roman Catholics of this kingdom ſhould be accompanied by any teſt, as he was ſure that any member who read over the act of King William [which he then held in his hand] would think that in repealing it he was not ſo much employed in conferring favours on the Catholics as in reſcuing the ſtatutes from diſgrace.

The queſtion was then put, and unanimouſly agreed to.

May 15.

No debate. Adjourned to the 18th.

May 18.

No debate.

May 19.

The Houſe in committee on the Iriſh importation bill.

Mr. *Bamber Goſcoigne* (when the enumerated articles came to be neceſſarily mentioned in order to fill up the blanks) moved, That woollens, woollen cloths, whole or mixed cotton, and cotton goods, whole or mixed painted and printed linens, gunpowder, and ſeveral other articles of inferior conſequence, be exempted. Agreed to.

He next moved, That whatever goods or merchandiſe, &c. which ſhould be permitted to be exported under this act, ſhould have duties laid upon any of them, or the ingredients which compoſed them, equal to thoſe already ſubſiſting in Great Britain, and likewiſe of any of the ſaid export duties.

This clauſe being agreed to, Sir William Bagot propoſed a clauſe, that no iron, manufactured, ſhould be permitted to be exported under this act till a duty of 2*l.* 10*s.* per ton be laid upon all foreign iron imported into Ireland.

Theſe ſeveral clauſes being agreed, to Sir Thomas Egerton moved, That the liberty given by this act to export checks from Ireland do not take place till the parliament of Ireland ſhall take off the duty of one halfpenny per pound on all linen yarn exported from that kingdom.

The queſtion being put, the committee divided, Ayes 33, Noes 79.

May 20.

No debate.

May 21.

Lord *North* preſented to the Houſe of Commons the following meſſage from his Majeſty:

GEORGE R.

"His Majeſty having conſidered the addreſs of this Houſe, that he will be graciouſly pleaſed to confer ſome ſignal and laſting mark of his royal favour on the family of the late William Pitt, Earl of Chatham; and being deſirous to comply as ſpeedily as poſſible with the requeſt of his faithful Commons, has given directions for granting to the preſent Earl of Chatham, and to the heirs of the body of the late William Pitt, to whom the Earldom of Chatham may deſcend, an annuity of four thouſand pounds *per annum*, payable out of the Civil Liſt revenue: but his Majeſty not having it in his power to extend the effect of the ſaid grant beyond the

term

term of his own life, recommends it to the Houſe to conſider of a proper method of extending, ſecuring, and annexing the ſame to the Earldom of Chatham, in ſuch manner as ſhall be thought moſt effectual for the benefit of the family of the ſaid William Pitt, Earl of Chatham."

GEORGE R.

It was moved, That the ſaid meſſage be referred to the committee of ſupply; and unanimouſly agreed to. A bill was ordered in, which alſo paſſed unanimouſly.

The following petition was preſented.

The humble Petition of the City of London, in Common Council aſſembled,

SHEWETH,

"That your petitioners humbly beg leave to return their grateful thanks to this honourable Houſe for the noble and generous teſtimony which it has borne to the ſervices and merits of the late William Pitt, Earl of Chatham.

"And your petitioners, with all humility, deſire that their zeal may not ſeem unpleaſing to this honourable Houſe, or be interpreted as a wiſh in your petitioners to vary from the general ſenſe of their country, as expreſſed in the late votes of this honourable Houſe, by their requeſting that the remains of the Earl of Chatham be depoſited in the cathedral church of St. Paul, in the city of London.

"Your petitioners farther repreſent to this honourable Houſe, that they entirely feel the delicacy of their ſituation, in conſequence of the ſeveral meaſures taken by this honourable Houſe, but hope that a favourable interpretation will be put upon any particular marks of gratitude and veneration which the firſt commercial city in the empire is earneſt to expreſs towards the Stateſman whoſe vigour and counſels had ſo much contributed to the protection and extenſion of its commerce.

By order of the Court, RIX."

May 22.

No debate. Adjourned to the 25th.

May 25.

Order of the day, for taking into conſideration the papers reſpecting the Toulon ſquadron.

Extract and Subſtance of ſeveral Papers and Letters received by his Majeſty's Principal Secretaries of State for Foreign Affairs, in relation to the Equipment of the French *Fleet lately ſailed from* Toulon, *according to the Dates of their being received.*

It is ſaid, that they have redoubled their work in the arſenal at Toulon; and that there is an intention of arming ſeventeen large ſhips, and ſeven frigates, which are in the port, excluſive of ſix ſhips and four frigates in the road. Received Jan. 3, 1778.

The ſix ſhips and four frigates ſtill continue in Toulon road. The works of the arſenal and port are going on briſkly. The two frigates on the ſtocks will be launched in the courſe of the month of January. Received Jan. 10.

The work at Toulon, which the advanced and inclement ſeaſon of the year has hitherto interrupted, ſeems now to be again begun with activity. They are very buſy in careening the remaining ſhips in that harbour; the Burgoigne has undergone a thorough repair; they are calling carpenters from all quarters; but their preſent employment conſiſts in the haſtening on the finiſhing of the frigate they are building, upon which they work without any intermiſſion. On the other hand, a great part of the ſailors belonging to the ſix men of war, which compoſe their firſt diviſion, have obtained a *congé* for the Chriſtmas holidays; but the four frigates in the road, two of which are under ſailing orders, have their full complement of men. Received Jan. 19.

Two frigates of twenty-ſix guns, called the Magicienne and Precieuſe, will ſoon be launched at Toulon. Received Jan. 25.

I am informed, that orders are ſent to Toulon for all the ſhips of the line to put to ſea as ſoon as poſſible. Received Jan. 25.

My information is, that there will be a new armament of at leaſt four ſhips of the line at Toulon. Received Jan. 28.

The two new frigates, upon which they have been more particularly employed at Toulon, are now almoſt finiſhed, and will be launched in a few days. Received Jan. 28.

Things remain in the ſame ſtate at Toulon, where they continue to work briſkly. Received Jan. 31.

I am informed, that a great quantity of corn has been bought up at Marſeilles for the uſe of the arſenal at Toulon; and that numbers of workmen were daily arriving at that place, in order to build new ſhips, as it is generally imagined that moſt of thoſe in that harbour are actually unfit for ſervice. Received Feb. 2.

Every

Every thing is in motion at Toulon. It is reported, that orders have been given to fit out eight more ſhips of the line and all the frigates immediately; and that four thouſand ſailors are expected from the weſtern coaſts. Beſides the corn lately purchaſed, they have bought up a large quantity of ſalt fiſh at Marſeilles. They are beginning to levy ſailors in the ports along the Mediterranean; ſome are ſent from Antibes. It is certain they hardly ceaſe working night or day, and that the ovens are in conſtant employment. Received Feb. 6.

I am aſſured that twelve ſhips of the line are to be armed at Toulon. Received Feb. 8.

Orders are ſaid to have been received at Toulon to fit out, with expedition, four ſhips, four frigates, and four chebecks, to join the ſquadron of ſix ſhips and four frigates in the road. It is talked that Monſieur de Couſage will command the whole. It is thought this new equipment will ſlacken the building of the three ſhips and two frigates. Received Feb. 9.

They are careening the twelve ſhips, which are to be fitted out immediately; and orders are received at Toulon to carry on the equipment with vigour. Four thouſand ſeamen are expected there in a week. As there is a want of marines, three battalions of infantry are to be taken on board. Received Feb. 13.

The two new frigates are launched at Toulon. The men of war in that harbour are not in ſo bad a ſtate as may have been repreſented; they are certainly in a condition to go to ſea. Received Feb. 13.

The equipment of four ſhips of the line, four frigates, and four chebecks, at Toulon, goes on very briſkly. The commanders are as yet unknown. The crews of the ſquadron in the road are completing. Received Feb. 18.

The levy of ſailors is carrying on with great activity all along the Mediterranean coaſt; and they are draughting off thoſe at Marſeilles to ſend them to Toulon. Received Feb. 23.

Expreſs orders are received at Toulon to arm immediately ſix ſhips of the line, five frigates, and four chebecks. The Lion and Hardi, part of the ſquadron in the road, are to be diſarmed and careened. The ſquadron continues in the ſame ſtate. The crews are completed. Received Feb. 23.

The armaments continue at Toulon without alteration. The commander in chief is ſtill unknown. Nothing is now wanting at that port; and twelve battalions are expected there in a few days. Received Feb. 27.

Of the ſhips which were in Toulon road, the Hector, the Provence, and the Fantaſque, are returned into port, and diſ-

armed for careening; and they are to be re-armed immediately after. When they are returned into the road, the three others, the Cæſar, the Lion, and the Hardi, will enter for the like purpoſes. Received March 3.

The levy of ſailors continues with great activity on the coaſt of Languedoc, and they are immediately ſent to Toulon. Smiths, carpenters, painters, and all other workmen, who can be uſefully employed, are retained for the ſervice of the fleet. They are buſy in fitting out four men of war, which, with four frigates and as many chebecks, are to be added to the ſix now in the road. In ſhort, every thing ſeems to be in motion, and every ſtep to haſten on the equipment of the fleet. Received March 5.

I am informed, that orders have been iſſued to get ready the whole naval force, and fit out all the ſhips whatever at Toulon. They work upon them without ceaſing, and with ſuch activity, that they have taken the men employed about the ſhips upon the ſtocks to aſſiſt in the equipment. Three men of war, compoſing the firſt diviſion, are returned into the harbour to undergo ſome repair. The Cato, a new ſhip of ſixty-four guns, is maſted; four frigates and four chebecks in the harbour are quite ready; as well as about nine or ten chaloupes, mounted with one gun, carrying ball of thirty-ſix pounds weight. The bomb-veſſels are not as yet begun upon. Daily additions making to their ſtore of proviſions, of which they have an abundance of all kinds. French Mediterranean coaſt entirely ſtripped of ſailors, and all their trading veſſels detained for want of men. Received March 9.

Orders are received at Toulon to arm the Tonnant and Languedoc of eighty guns, and the Cato of ſixty-four; the captains are not yet named. The ſhips in the road are to be careened, and to return into the road as ſoon as they are ready. The ſquadron will then conſiſt of two ſhips of eighty guns, ſix of ſeventy-four, ſix of ſixty-four, and one of fifty; ſix frigates, and four chebecks. Received March 13.

On the 15th the whole Toulon fleet, it is ſaid, will be in the road, and ready to ſail. Received March 16.

Count d'Eſtaing does not ſet out for Toulon till the middle of next week. He goes to take the command of at leaſt ten ſhips of the line; what number of frigates I do not yet know; and is to have under him two *chefs d'eſcadre*, M. de Brugnon, and M. de Broves. Received March 17.

Count d'Eſtaing ſets out for Toulon the ſeventeenth or eighteenth of March. The fleet which he is to command is

to

to conſiſt of ſeventeen ſail; ten, or perhaps twelve, ſhips of the line, the reſt frigates. Received March 19.

About eighty maſters of ſmall ſhips and veſſels have been taken at Marſeilles, and conveyed to Toulon, to ſerve in the fleet as coaſting pilots. The ſame diligence is making uſe of, to complete the armament; and if they continue to work upon it as they have begun, there is little doubt, but the whole maritime force in that department will be ready to put to ſea in the courſe of next month at fartheſt. Received March 20.

Vice Admiral Count d'Eſtaing is ſetting out to take the command of the ſquadron at Toulon. He will have under him two commodores, Meſſieurs de Brugnon and de Broves. Received March 26.

Orders are ſent to Toulon, for an additional equipment of four large ſhips. The whole ſquadron, amounting to twenty-five ſail, will be in the road in three or four days. M. d'Eſtaing is expected to arrive at Toulon the 25th. The ſquadron will be formed into two diviſions; and it is believed that the Chevalier de Fabry will command the ſecond diviſion. Received March 27.

Notwithſtanding the great preparations making in the ſouth of France, the French have not as yet made any levies of ſailors out of their own provinces; the Mediterranean coaſt of Italy is able to furniſh them with a conſiderable number, the greateſt part of which are generally at their command. From the moſt accurate accounts, the late extraordinary levies in the ports of France, Languedoc, and Provence, amount to upwards of ſeven thouſand men, thoſe of laſt year not included. Deſertion is very frequent amongſt them; as the ſailors in general, from the hardſhips with which they are treated, ſeem to have little inclination to continue in the ſervice. Received March 28.

I am informed, that the preparations at Toulon are continued with the ſame activity; and that the greateſt part of the ſailors of ſeveral merchant-ſhips, lately arrived at Marſeilles from the French colonies, have been ſent to the general rendezvous. Received April 3.

I underſtand that the French are uncommonly active at Toulon. Some advices mention, that twelve men of war were in the road; but were thinly manned. The ſilence of thoſe who are in a ſituation to be much better and ſooner informed, makes me give no credit to them. However expeditious they may be in fitting out the additional ſhips, it is ſcarcely poſſible to have given them the neceſſary repairs in ſo ſhort a time; but, on the other hand, in caſe they are ready,

there is certainly a number of ſailors ſufficient for their complement. Received April 9.

It is ſuppoſed, that Monſieur d'Eſtaing will ſail from Toulon the twelfth or fifteenth of April, with ten ſhips of the line, and five frigates. Received April 10.

Count d'Eſtaing arrived at Toulon the 27th of March. He has added two ſhips to his ſquadron. Received April 13.

The Toulon ſquadron will certainly ſail by the twelfth or fifteenth of April. One hundred picked men from the regular troops, are to embark on board each veſſel. Received April 19.

They write from Marſeilles, that a fleet will ſail from Toulon about the middle of April; and is to conſiſt of ten ſhips of the line, eight frigates, four chebecks, and one bark. It is nevertheleſs confidently imagined, that, however expeditious they may be, they will not be able to have their ſhips ready before the latter end of April, or the beginning of May. Received April 20.

Since the arrival of Count d'Eſtaing at Toulon, they have worked with redoubled activity to complete the equipment of his ſquadron. Beſides the regular troops embarking, they are to embark on board the fleet ſome battering cannon, and furnaces for heating balls; and, in ſhort, all the materials for a ſiege. His miſſion is impenetrable; he is to ſail the tenth or twelfth of April, at lateſt. After the departure of this fleet, they go to work on the ſecond ſquadron; to conſiſt of five ſhips of the line, three frigates, and four chebecks; and it is ſtill believed, that M. de Fabry is to command it. Received April 21.

The Count d'Eſtaing is inceſſantly employed at Toulon, in ſeeing and ordering every thing himſelf. Some paſſengers of diſtinction, who are concealed, are to embark with him. Received April 23.

—That an embargo was laid at Marſeilles on all ſhips whatever; that all ſailors from thence were ſent to Toulon. Received April 25.

—That there were in the road of Toulon ſix frigates and nine ſhips of the line; and they were to be joined by three others. Count d'Eſtaing was arrived at Toulon, and was to hoiſt his flag on board the Languedoc. Received April 25.

—The whole ſquadron of Count d'Eſtaing is in Toulon road; and propoſed to ſail the eleventh. It has on board five hundred of the regiment of Hainault, and five hundred of the regiment de Foix; which, added to the marines, may form an army of ſix thouſand foot, for a deſcent. Alſo artillery

artillery for a ſiege; mortars, bombs, iron grates and pincers for heating balls, cheſts of arms, money, &c. The men have been paid three months in advance. Four paſſengers of diſtinction are to go on board, who are concealed, and not to be ſeen by any one. The ſquadron conſiſts of twelve ſhips of the line, and ſix frigates; and the departure is much preſſed. Received April 27.

M. d'Eſtaing's ſquadron ſailed the thirteenth of April, at four in the afternoon, with a fair wind, accompanied by fourteen large merchant ſhips. Received April 27.

—That M. d'Eſtaing's ſquadron was ſeen the fourteenth of April, near Toulon, ſteering to the ſouthwards. It was thought to be compoſed of twelve ſhips of the line, four frigates, and four chebecks. It is reported there were about two thouſand, or two thouſand four hundred troops on board, including marines. Received April 29.

Sir *William Meredith* obſerved, that, amidſt all the dangers that threatened the very being of this country, in the very wreck of our commerce, and amidſt the ſhocks of public credit the miniſters themſelves ſeemed careleſs, thoughtleſs, and regardleſs of what is paſt, preſent, and to come It does not, however, appear that they have been wanting in information; they had early and complete intelligence of the preparations at Toulon. On the 3d of January laſt they had notice of the equipment; on the 8th of February they had advice of the number of ſhips that was to compoſe the ſquadron; and on the 28th of the ſame month, that the crews were all completed. They had early information of Monſieur d'Eſtaing's arrival, and of the day on which he intended to ſail; that he had 6000 troops on board; and that he actually did ſail upon the 13th. We are now pretty far advanced in the month of May, yet our fleet is ſtill at Spithead; not a ſhip is ſent out, nor one ſtep taken to guard us againſt this formidable armament, wherever the attack may be deſtined. Yet it was on the 20th of November when the Earl of Sandwich informed the public there were forty-two ſhips of the line fit for ſervice, of which he ſaid thirty-five might put to ſea at an hour's warning, and the remaining ſeven would be ready in a fortnight. One needs not be a ſtateſman to know, that on an apprehenſion of a foreign war, the firſt thing to be done is to ſend a fleet to the Mediterranean. To what other purpoſes were Gibraltar and Minorca conquered? And why have they been maintained

tained at the expence of many millions? Sir William ſaid, he earneſtly wiſhed the King's miniſters might clear themſelves from every poſſible imputation. It is not only neceſſary in this country that public opinion ſhould go along with government, but that they ſhould maintain their credit in the ſeveral courts of Europe. But if it be true, as the Firſt Lord of the Admiralty aſſerted, that we had ſo great a fleet ready in November, and which might by this time have had twenty more ſhips of the line added to them, it is unaccountable that they ſhould be at this hour lying idle and uſeleſs at Spithead.

If a negative was to be put on the motion going to be made, he ſincerely wiſhed it might be on the fulleſt proof and conviction that the miniſters have done their duty. Without ſuch proof and conviction, the numbers which may compoſe a majority cannot, in the eyes of the world, clear them of neglect and criminality. Sir William then moved the following reſolutions:

"1ſt, That it appears to this Houſe, that his Majeſty's miniſters did receive intelligence, at different times, in the months of January, February, March, and April laſt, of the equipment of the fleet at Toulon, which ſailed under the command of the Count d'Eſtaing on the 13th of April laſt.

"2d, That it does not appear to this Houſe, that any orders were ſent until the 29th day of April for any fleet of obſervation to attend the motions of the ſaid Toulon fleet; and that no fleet did actually ſail until the twentieth of the preſent month of May, when eleven ſail of the line left St. Helen's.

"3d, That whereas the navy of Great Britain was, in the month of November laſt, repreſented by the King's miniſters and ſervants to conſiſt of forty-two ſhips of the line in Europe, of which thirty-five were ſuppoſed to be ready for immediate ſervice, and ſeven others were in ſuch forwardneſs, that they might put to ſea in a fortnight; his Majeſty's miniſters were inattentive to the public welfare and ſafety, in not having ſtationed a fleet in the Mediterranean, as has been the practice in former times, and on ſimilar occaſions; by which neglect, the advantages to be derived from the expenſive fortreſſes at Gibraltar and Port Mahon have been loſt; and the Toulon fleet has been left at liberty, for ſix weeks paſt, to proceed towards the attack of any of his Majeſty's defenceleſs dominions abroad, and to form a junction with the fleets in any ports out of the Mediterranean,

and

and thereby collect a force from which Great Britain and Ireland may be expoſed to imminent danger."

Sir *George Yonge* ſeconded the motion.

Mr. *Adam* ſaid, the conſideration of the papers upon the table were ſo materially connected with the ſituation of this country, and that ſituation was ſo critical as to merit more attention than the Houſe ſeemed inclined to beſtow upon it. He then entered into a very diſtinct diſcuſſion of the characters of the preſent French miniſters, to ſhew, that if we had been decided in our plan, or had acted with vigour, we ſhould have forced that court to have renounced its American treaty, and to have ſued for a continuation of peace. But that, unfortunately for this country, our miniſters ſeemed to be as ignorant of the characters of thoſe they had to deal with, as they were of events; for it was well known, that the pacific diſpoſition of the French King, the cautious temper of Monſ. de Maurepas, and the difficulty M. Neckar found in procuring money, ſeconded by the vigorous deciſion of this country, would have overbalanced the intereſted and ambitions views of the perſon at the head of their naval department. He mentioned three things that might have been done, any one of which would have raiſed the glory of this country, and humbled the court of France. Firſt, by a ſpirited meſſage, accompanied with a powerful fleet, in December laſt, to have ordered the French court to diſmiſs Franklin and Deane, which he had the beſt reaſon to believe, from his information, would have been acquieſced in: or to have declared war, or acted as if war had been declared, upon the recall of our ambaſſador: or to have ſent a fleet to the Mediterranean, to oppoſe the Toulon ſquadron. The efficacy of this laſt meaſure he was ſo much convinced of, that he heartily agreed to the third motion of the honourable gentlemen [Sir William Meredith]. He proceeded to ſay, that the fault muſt either be owing to want of a deciſive and vigorous plan, or to want of readineſs in our navy: that the firſt might be the caſe, our preſent unneceſſary and deſperate ſituation with reſpect to American affairs, gave us but too much reaſon to ſuppoſe: if it was owing to the ſecond, even then part of the blame belonged to the firſt miniſter, who ought to control and influence all ſubordinate departments. He inſinuated, that when timid and conciliatory meaſures were to be entered into, that then the noble Lord did exert theſe powers in their full extent; but, when vigour, activity, and exertion, were

neceſſary

neceſſary to animate and puſh forward the ſlow and tedious operations of the various departments of government, he then diſowned that he had any controlling power, or that he would ever think of encroaching upon the province of others. He here recommended Lord Chatham to his example; and exhorted him, if he had any ambition, by an effort of exertion and activity, to retrieve his character, that he might receive hereafter the ſame honourable teſtimonies of approbation from a grateful people, that they were now paying with ſo much alacrity to the memory of that great and illuſtrious ſtateſman. He then warned the noble Lord, that he would not now meet with the ſame excuſe and forgiveneſs from this country, as he had met with in the American affairs; that the whole nation were unanimous upon this ſubject; that the ſpirit of the nation was up, and it was the buſineſs of the miniſter to purſue meaſures that ſhould reſent the injuries of France, and intimidate the other branch of the houſe of Bourbon from fulfilling the family compact.

Mr. *Ellis* objected to the propriety of the motion, and ſaid, however true the facts were, the inquiry was highly improper. He did not think the Houſe of Commons an aſſembly calculated for the diſcuſſion of ſtate affairs; it was the buſineſs of Parliament to raiſe ſupplies, not to debate on the meaſures of government. The one was the proper object of legiſlative, the other of executive power. The ſenate of Rome, indeed, diſcuſſed all political queſtions; but that body was compoſed of men of honour and diſcretion, who could keep their own ſecrets. A point of great moment was once agitated, when ſix hundred ſenators were preſent; but not a word tranſpired of their deliberations, till the execution of their councils had actually taken place; whereas the debates of both Houſes of Parliament in England were ſure to be publiſhed in every newſpaper. Mr. Ellis then moved the previous queſtion.

Mr. *Townſhend* followed Mr. Ellis, and ridiculed his notion of the ſecrecy of this Houſe being greater in former times than now. He condemned his motion, and the doctrine upon which it was founded, as calculated to cruſh all inquiry at all times, and as depriving the Houſe of one of its firſt privileges.

Mr. *Byng* ſaid, he had formerly blamed the miniſters for having no information; he had now to blame them for taking no advantage of the good information they had had.

Mr.

Mr. *Fox* ſaid, he could not avoid giving his opinion upon the preſent queſtion, ill defended, or rather totally neglected, as it had been by the miniſters; that he ſhould think himſelf happy if any of the noble Lords, or any of the honourable gentlemen upon the treaſury bench, would interrupt him at that moment; that finding they were not likely to afford him that ſatisfaction, and feeling himſelf in a ſituation, in which, according to his comprehenſion of the queſtion, no member of Parliament had ever ſtood before. Feeling that he, as a member of this Houſe, had, with many other perſons in it, been inſulted by what the right honourable gentleman had ſaid. For what had his right honourable friend ſaid? After papers had been delivered to this Houſe, and theſe papers taken into conſideration, he had moved the previous queſtion; and upon what grounds had he moved that queſtion? Becauſe this Houſe ought not to determine that the facts ariſing out of thoſe papers were fit to determine upon; that the concluſion drawn from theſe facts was not a fit concluſion for this Houſe to draw. His right honourable friend had mentioned a great aſſembly who could deliberate with ſecrecy, and he ſeemed to wiſh that this Houſe could be as ſecret as the ſenate of Rome. He would recommend to that gentleman's attention, what one of the greateſt ornaments of that ſenate ſaid, who was indeed too apt to praiſe himſelf at the expence of that aſſembly: writing one day to a friend of his, he ſays, *De cauſa non verecundi graviter dixi.* He then proceeded to anſwer all the arguments that had been offered for the previous queſtion: that ſo far from being an improper time to inquire, he thought it was the favourable moment that theſe reſolutions ſhould be entered into, and inquiry made; that all the arguments of the right honourable gentleman were calculated for refuſing the information that had been already given; they ſhould have been made when the papers were moved for, not when they were to be taken into conſideration; that the privilege of this Houſe was certainly to inquire into, and to cenſure the conduct of thoſe who were entruſted with the executive power. The right honourable member had ſaid, that the matter before us was a fit ſubject of deliberation for his Majeſty's council, not for the Houſe of Commons. He ſurely could not mean that the cabinet council was the fit place to cenſure want of wiſdom in his Majeſty's councils. Nor could it be ſuppoſed that the ſame council that had wanted wiſdom in ſo many inſtances, was likely to be correct

in

in future. He obſerved that the right honourable gentleman's argument was ſo broad, that it was calculated to ſkreen every miniſter that had ever exiſted; and, if founded in reaſon, ought to put an end to all inquiry upon the conduct of thoſe who directed affairs. But broad as that argument was, it was not calculated to ſkreen the preſent miniſters.

He ſaid, an honourable friend of his [Mr. Adam] had early in the debate mentioned the miniſter's ignorance of the character of the French court. He indeed believed they were completely ignorant of that court, for they had taken no ſtep that common ſenſe would have dictated.

He ſaid, the right honourable gentleman [Mr. Ellis] had expreſſed a very indecent opinion in very decent words; for nothing would be ſo injurious to the honour of Parliament, nothing ſo great an imputation on their credits and underſtandings, nothing ſo abhorrent from the ends and principles of their inſtitution, as to ſuppoſe Parliament incapable of deliberating, judging, and debating on thoſe affairs of ſtate, which they were immediately ſummoned to vote and determine upon. To ſpeak with freedom, and with the fulleſt extent that reaſon dictated, and information gave, was the eſſence of parliamentary functions; but it became them more particularly at a time when there was either ſuch egregious folly, or ſuch heinous treachery, in the King's miniſters, that, though that Houſe had given ſuch enormous ſupplies, for the defence of Great Britain and the honour of the crown, yet had no one meaſure been taken to guard againſt the greateſt danger that ever threatened this country. Whilſt France was ſending out vaſt fleets to attack all our remaining poſſeſſions; whilſt ſhe was arming great bodies of troops, and marching up to the ſea coaſts, probably with an intent to invade England or Ireland, the government was ſupine, torpid, ſenſeleſs, and inactive. It was the care, the vigilance, the vigour of Parliament only, that could now redeem this country.

Lord *North* ſaid, he ſhould be happy to have his conduct inquired into when the proper time was come, but he did not conceive the preſent time to be fit for that purpoſe. That he could not anſwer for the ability of his advice; nor that he would prove ſucceſsful; but he was ſure that what he did adviſe, he adviſed honeſtly. He ſeemed to think the channel ſervice neceſſary to be taken care of, though he dreaded an invaſion as little as any body; nor did he think any ſuch thing very likely to happen. He did not know but a houſe

or

or a village might be burnt; but he was ſure conqueſt could never be the conſequence of ſuch a deſcent. That freemen would always be able to repel every ſuch attempt. That with reſpect to the dependencies of this country, they were ſo ſcattered that it was impoſſible to defend them all from attack; but he truſted ſomething might be done to protect them. That he had every reaſon to believe the French fleet was very ill manned, and ill provided of every thing, and that they were gone back to Toulon.

He then entered into a comparative view of the French and Spaniſh fleets with that of England, and ſeemed to think it was not at all wonderful, if the other two nations had a larger united fleet than this country; for if a country did apply a great part of its revenue to building of ſhips, no doubt it could build ſhips; but he was inclined to think the Britiſh ſeamen were much ſuperior, and that we ſhould beat them, though we had fewer ſhips of the line.

His Lordſhip then entered into the diſcuſſion of continental connexions. Firſt of all, he vindicated himſelf from having any ſhare in giving them up. As for their utility, it was very difficult, from what he ſaid, to underſtand whether he thought them uſeful or not. Firſt of all, he ſaid, they coſt Great Britain a vaſt deal, and the return they made was not adequate to the expence. Great Britain was ſtrong enough without them: they did not add to her ſtrength. He then ſeemed to think that the battles won by our allies were battles won to Great Britain, and that ſhe therefore might be advantaged by them. And after diſcuſſing the matter for ſome time, the Houſe was left in a ſtate of obſcurity whether he was for or againſt thoſe connexions. He ſaid, the declarations of Spain were perfectly peaceable, and thought it could not ſurely be good policy to act in a hoſtile manner againſt a country that had not done any thing to offend us; that ſuch a conduct was the ſure and only way to eſtabliſh the family compact. He then ſaid, an honourable gentleman [Mr. Adam] had accuſed him early in the debate for not taking upon him the controlling power of firſt miniſter, and guiding all the inferior departments; and had inſinuated, that on ſome occaſions he was not averſe to aſſume that power. In anſwer to that charge, his Lordſhip had to ſay, that he knew no ſuch perſon as prime miniſter; that he was Firſt Lord of the Treaſury, and would be anſwerable for every thing that came within his office, but further he did not go; that he truſted he never would be ſo preſumptuous as to think himſelf capable of directing the departments

ments of others; that whatever name he might receive, he did not think this conſtitution authoriſed ſuch a character, and that he ſtood reſponſible as one of his Majeſty's cabinet council, but not as that animal called a firſt miniſter. He ſaid, when Minorca was loſt, there was no inquiry nor cenſure paſt till the buſineſs was all over. His Lordſhip ſeconded the previous queſtion.

Mr. *Grenville* replied to Lord North. He ſaid, that, although he had retired into the country, and wiſhed to have enjoyed the comforts and tranquillity of domeſtic happineſs without interruption; yet the importance of the queſtion, and the alarming ſtate of our affairs, had impelled him to return to his duty in Parliament, and to give his vote on the preſent queſtion. He deſired the Houſe to remember, that he had given notice of the French treaty with America. He deſired it to be remembered, that the miniſter denied what proved to be true. He called to the memory of the public, how notorious the preparations at Toulon were; that it now appears the miniſters knew every ſtep that our enemies were taking; and aſked, how they could anſwer to their King, their country, and their God, for all the miſchiefs which their delay and inattention might probably bring on this devoted nation?

The Houſe divided; for the previous queſtion, 117; againſt it, 91.

Sir *William Meredith* then moved his ſecond reſolution; but Lord North, after a ſhort ſpeech, moved an adjournment.

After the ſecond motion was read, and Lord North had moved the adjournment, a member deſired to know, why the mode of proceeding was altered from the previous queſtion to a motion of an adjournment? To which Lord North gave no anſwer; but Sir William Meredith replied that there was a very obvious motive for preferring the motion of adjournment; becauſe the Houſe would then break up without having the third motion ſtated, which contained a charge of neglect and inattention, and which the miniſter himſelf now *admitted* to be true: for it amounts to the admiſſion of a fact, when the perſon charged not only avoids an inquiry but flies even from diſcuſſion. Perhaps indeed it might not have been agreeable to the noble Lord to have ſeen a motion of perſonal cenſure ſupported by ſo great and ſo very reſpectable a minority as had juſt now voted againſt the previous queſtion; and the more ſo as people without doors will be apt to compare the reſpective ſituations of the majority with that minority; that

that the one is compoſed of independent men, the others, almoſt to a man, enjoy the emoluments of government. But there was one thing, Sir William ſaid, he could not help taking notice of, which was, that his Lordſhip had attempted to juſtify *his* conduct by the example of the miniſtry in 1756. Whereas nothing could be more diſſimilar, neither could any thing be more unfair or more indecent in any man than to rake the aſhes of the dead for a covering to his own ſhame. In 1756, the French, with a force fitted out at Toulon, attacked and took Minorca. The miniſtry at that time were very highly, and perhaps deſervedly, blamed for not having a fleet in the Mediterranean, which the policy of this country requires to be always ready there on the moſt diſtant apprehenſions of a war. But did the miniſters then lie ſleeping on their poſts as the preſent miniſtry are now doing? No, it was on the 27th of March when they received intelligence of the preparations at Toulon; and ſuch was the diligence and diſpatch of Lord Anſon, the firſt Lord of the admiralty, that a fleet was got ready in a fortnight: it actually ſailed on the 12th of April under Admiral Byng; and had that fleet been ſucceſsful, there would have been no failure in point of time or preparation. But it is a miſtake to aſſert, that parliament did not go as early as poſſible into the diſcuſſion of that buſineſs. It was indeed too late to enter into a formal inquiry *that* ſeſſion; but the miniſters were immediately and inceſſantly arraigned both within and without doors for not being armed ſooner. The very firſt day of the next ſeſſion the inquiry was moved; but the miniſters then did not ſhrink from it as theſe do now; on the contrary, when the motion was made on this ſide the Houſe, a noble Marquis [Lord Granby] whoſe memory will ever be dear to his friends and to his country, inſtantly aroſe, as a friend to the adminiſtration, to ſecond it; and ſo far from ſhifting with previous queſtions, or a ſtill more diſgraceful motion of adjournment, the ſtrife was, who ſhould promote the inquiry moſt. Let me then aſk wherein does the conduct of *that* adminiſtration reſemble *this?* I mentioned already that the intelligence came on the twenty-ſeventh of March, and, though unprepared at that time, the fleet ſailed on the twelfth of April. On the third of January laſt intelligence came of the preparations at Toulon. On the twentieth of November preceding that, the Earl of Sandwich informed the public that the fleet lay ready for ſailing. It is now the middle of May, and not a ſhip has ſailed from Spithead. On what enterpriſe Monſ. D'Eſtaing is gone, neither the mini-

ſters nor we know, but we may be aſſured that he is not gone upon an idle errand; whether he is ordered to the Delaware to attack the remains of our inefficient army there, or to take Halifax, or to attack Jamaica or ſome other of our Weſt India iſlands, time will ſhew: but ſure it is, that whatever increaſe of ruin it may bring on the commercial intereſt of this country, whatever diſgraces and whatever loſſes may happen from the operation of the Toulon ſquadron, are all to be attributed to thoſe miniſters who might have prevented our misfortunes, if they had made a proper uſe of thoſe ample ſupplies which we have granted, but which have lain to every national purpoſe uſeleſs in their hands. From their tempers and from their habits much may be attributed to inattention and to careleſſneſs. It is indeed ignominious, it is hateful for men in public ſtations even to *ſeem* regardleſs of public ſafety in the hour of diſtreſs and danger; but in the preſent ſituation of affairs there is ſomething more than can be ſet down to the account of folly only; and if the king's miniſters ſhrink as they do now from all inveſtigation of their conduct, unjuſtifiable as *neglect* is, they will incur a ſuſpicion of ſomething ſtill more criminal.

May 26.

Mr. *Vyner* moved, that this Houſe will now reſolve itſelf into a committee of the whole Houſe, to conſider of the ſtate and condition of the army which ſurrendered themſelves priſoners, on convention, at Saratoga in America; and alſo by what means Lieutenant General Burgoyne, who commanded that army and was included in that convention, was releaſed, and is now returned to England.

Mr. *Wilkes*. I riſe to ſecond the motion of the honourable gentleman; but I confeſs that I am not a little embarraſſed as to the mode of our proceedings on this ſingular buſineſs. I entirely approve the motion as far as it goes, and will give it a firm ſupport. At the ſame time I declare that I think it too narrow, and that it ought to be amended by ſome general words, which would comprehend all the tranſactions of the northern army in America during the laſt campaign, prior to the affair of Saratoga. I believe that I am not at liberty both to ſecond the motion and to propoſe an amendment. I ſubmit to you, Sir, the point of order. I rejoice that the honourable member is now among us, for I hope to obtain from him that information, which miniſters have denied to this Houſe. I think that information ought to include every tranſaction of moment from the General's leaving Europe to his

his embarking from America. Truth will, I am perſuaded, at length reach the public ear. I do not, however, Sir, in this fair and full hiſtorical detail mean to include a relation of the military operations of the laſt campaign. The Houſe may not be competent to a deciſion on thoſe ſubjects. But, Sir, I would go much farther than the honourable gentleman who made you the motion. I would cloſely purſue the ſteps of thoſe who with unhallowed feet invaded America. A nice ſenſe of national honour calls upon us to inquire into the cauſes of the loſs of an entire Britiſh army by a diſgraceful capitulation, into the particulars of the treaty with the ſavages, their conduct during the campaign, the imputed cruelties, and particularly the ſetting fire to villages and houſes of the country people, without any apparent neceſſity from military motives. Theſe important conſiderations, with many others, are not comprehended in the motion of the honourable gentleman.

Sir, I deſire it may be underſtood that I do not riſe to bring a charge againſt the commander in chief; but, as a public man, to aſk that information which can beſt be had from an intelligent officer of high rank, juſt returned from the great ſcene of action. I am ſure he will moſt willingly give it to the Houſe. Every gazette of Europe and America has publiſhed the diſgrace of our arms at Saratoga, the ignominious terms of the convention, the charges of frequent murders and maſſacres of the defenceleſs inhabitants, and the wanton devaſtation and burning of the country by the Britiſh troops. I am entitled to the General's thanks for aſſiſting in giving him this long-wiſhed opportunity of clearing up many particulars, confeſſedly perplexed and intricate, of juſtifying himſelf and others, under the charges which have been exhibited, at the bar of the public, by half the printed papers of almoſt the laſt twelvemonths. His delicate feelings will always reſpect the opinion of his country, and he will liſten with attention to the voice of the people, poſſeſſing an undoubted right to ſcrutinize his conduct, as well as that of every man in their ſervice, and the military ſervants of the crown mentioned in the proclamation. I ſhould rejoice that the unhappy impreſſion made on the minds of men by that proclamation iſſued by the General laſt June, from the camp at Putnam Creek, was done away. It bears his name, and is, I believe, avowed. The candid part of the world will be anxious to have the ſame clear evidence of his wiſe conduct and humanity in North America, which he often gave there of

an active ſpirit and great perſonal bravery. It would ill become me, Sir, on this momentous occaſion, to take up more of your time. The impatience of the Houſe is highly raiſed and juſtly excited by objects of infinite conſequence, and cannot fail of being completely gratified.

Hon. Mr. *Fox* propoſed an amendment, by inſerting, after "conſider," the words, "of the tranſactions of the northern army under Lieutenant General Burgoyne, and of ——" The motion for the amendment was ſeconded by T. Powys, Eſq.

General *Burgoyne*. Not imagining there would be any motion by the honourable gentleman who ſpoke firſt [Mr. Vyner], but that merely a deſire of information would be expreſſed upon certain ſubjects, I had myſelf prepared a motion for an addreſs to the King, to have ſuch papers laid before the Houſe, as are now in poſſeſſion of the ſecretary of ſtate, and contain an account in detail, much too long for me to give in my place, of every circumſtance expreſſed in the queſtions of the honourable gentleman. Thoſe papers are of the utmoſt importance to the ſtate, to Parliament, and to the public.

The turn the buſineſs has taken precludes me at preſent from my intended motion; but I riſe to give my warmeſt ſupport to the amendment propoſed; and as reaſons for the expediency of inſtituting a full inquiry, to which the amendment points, I ſhall endeavour, as far as I can do it without breach of order in debate, to give to both the gentlemen [Mr. Vyner and Mr. Wilkes] ſatisfaction upon the particular ſubjects of their inquiries.

I agree with the honourable gentleman who ſeconded the motion, that all the conduct reſpecting the Indian nations is a matter that ought to be thoroughly canvaſſed; and I look upon his calling upon me openly, and in my place, as ſome reparation for the very free, and not very generous, comments he made upon my conduct in my abſence.

Sir, I ever eſteemed the Indian alliances at beſt a neceſſary evil. I ever believed their ſervices to be over-valued; ſometimes inſignificant, often barbarous, always capricious; and that the employment of them was only juſtifiable when, by being united to a regular army, they could be kept under control, and made ſubſervient to a general ſyſtem.

Upon this principle I heartily concurred with that gallant and humane general, Sir Guy Carleton, in the year 1776, to decline the offers and ſolicitations of the Indians to be then employed

employed ſeparately: the impoſſibility of completing the preparations for paſſing the regular troops over the lakes, made it impoſſible to employ them conjunctively.

In that year, Sir, it was my lot, by delegation from Sir Guy Carleton, who was then at Quebec, to preſide at one of the greateſt councils with the Indians that had been held at Montreal. Many gentlemen here know, that the ceremony preceding the taking up the hatchet, is, to offer to the repreſentative of the power they mean to ſerve the pipe of war. It was preſſed upon me by the chiefs preſent; and it was in my power, by a ſingle whif of tobacco, to have given flame and exploſion to a dozen nations. I never felt greater ſatisfaction than in being able to fulfil the inſtructions I was charged with, for reſtraining the impetuous paſſions of theſe people: it was a ſecondary ſatisfaction, at my return to England in the winter, to juſtify the conduct of Sir Guy Carleton in this reſpect, though the juſtification was very unpopular, among thoſe—I mean not to particularize miniſters, or miniſters of miniſters—but among thoſe men who, in their zeal againſt the coloniſts, had adopted the reaſoning, that "partial ſeverity was general mercy," provided by carrying terrors it conduced to finiſhing the war. How juſt ſoever this principle may be, my mind is not of a texture for carrying it into effect; and I returned to Canada the following ſpring, when I ſucceeded to the command, determined to be the ſoldier, not the executioner, of the ſtate.

I found care had been already taken by General Carleton, upon the ſame principles of humanity which always direct his conduct, to officer the Indians with gentlemen ſelected from the Britiſh troops, upon a diſtinction of their temper and judgment, as well as upon that of their valour; and in much greater number than ever was deſtined to that ſervice before. To theſe precautions I added that of a favourite prieſt, who had more control over the paſſions of the Indians than all their chiefs put together; and I truſt the expence put upon government to engage that gentleman's aſſiſtance through the courſe of the campaign, will not be eſteemed an improper article in my accounts.

Sir, with theſe aſſiſtances I was able to enforce obedience to the injunctions of my ſpeech at the great council, upon aſſembling the army, which has been made public. Barbarity was prevented, ſo much ſo, that in one inſtance two wounded provincial officers were brought off in the midſt of fire upon the backs of Indians; and a captain and his whole detachment,

placed in ambuſcade, were brought priſoners to my camp by Indians, without a man hurt, though it was evident they were placed for the ſpecial purpoſe of deſtroying me upon a reconnoitering party, and I was at that time very popular with the Indians.

I could produce many more inſtances to ſhew that every poſſible exertion of humanity was uſed; and that, the caſe of Miſs Mecree excepted, which was accident, not premeditated cruelty, the ſtories upon which the honourable gentleman founded his accuſation of me, were merely thoſe fabricated by committees, and propagated in newſpapers, for temporary purpoſes. The proclamation which the honourable gentleman, in my abſence, treated with ſo harſh terms, I avow was penned by myſelf. The deſign was to excite obedience, firſt by encouragement, and next by the dread, not the commiſſion, of ſeverity;—"to ſpeak daggers, but uſe none." And ſo far were the Americans, in their hearts, from putting upon that proclamation the interpretation that gentleman has done, that it ſerved to procure me reſpect and acknowledgment wherever I afterwards travelled through the country.

Sir, a gentleman has been in London great part of the winter, who I wiſh had been called to your bar.—It is for the ſake of truth only I wiſh it; for he is certainly not my friend. His name is St. Luc le Corne, a diſtinguiſhed partiſan of the French in the laſt war, and now in the Britiſh ſervice as a leader of the Indians.—He owes us indeed ſome ſervice, having been formerly inſtrumental in ſcalping many hundred Britiſh ſoldiers upon the very ground where, though with a different ſort of latitude, he was this year employed. He is by nature, education, and practice, artful, ambitious, and a courtier. To the grudge he owed me for controlling him in the uſe of the hatchet and ſcalping-knife, it was natural to his character to recommend himſelf to miniſterial favour, by any cenſure in his power to caſt upon an unfaſhionable general. He was often cloſeted by a noble Lord in my eye, [Lord G. Germaine,] and, with all theſe diſadvantages, as he has not been examined here, I wiſh the noble Lord to inform the Houſe what this man has preſumed to ſay of my conduct with the Indians. I know, in private companies, his language has been, that the Indians might have done great ſervices, but they were diſcharged. Sir, if to reſtrain them from murder was to diſcharge them, I take with pride the blame.—They were diſcharged. That circumſtance apart,

I ſhould

I ſhould ſay that the Indians, and Mr. St. Luc at the head of them, deſerted.

[*Sir, in regard to the call made upon me by the ſame honourable gentleman, for explanation reſpecting the burning of the country during the progreſs of the army under my command, I am ignorant of any ſuch circumſtance; I do not recollect more than one accident by fire; I poſitively aſſert there was no fire by order or countenance of myſelf, or any other officer, except at Saratoga. That diſtrict is the property of Major General Scuyler of the American troops; there were large barracks built by him, which took fire the day after the army arrived upon the ground in their retreat; and I believe I need not ſtate any other proof of that matter being merely accident, than that the barracks were then made uſe of as my hoſpital, and full of ſick and wounded ſoldiers. General Scuyler had likewiſe a very good dwelling-houſe, exceeding large ſtore-houſes, great ſaw-mills, and other out-buildings, to the value altogether perhaps of ten thouſand pounds. A few days before the negotiation with General Gates, the enemy had formed a plan to attack me; a large column of troops were approaching to paſs the ſmall river, preparatory to a general action, and were entirely covered from the fire of my artillery by thoſe buildings. Sir, I avow that I gave the order to ſet them on fire; and in a very ſhort time that whole property I have deſcribed was conſumed. But, to ſhew that the perſon moſt deeply concerned in that calamity did not put the conſtruction upon it which it has pleaſed the honourable gentleman to do, I muſt inform the Houſe, that one of the firſt perſons I ſaw, after the convention was ſigned, was General Scuyler. I expreſſed to him my regret at the event which had happened, and the reaſons which had occaſioned it. He deſired me to think no more of it: ſaid, that the occaſion juſtified it, according to the principles and rules of war, and he ſhould have done the ſame upon the ſame occaſion, or words to that effect. He did more—He ſent an aid-de-camp to conduct me to Albany, in order, as he expreſſed, to procure me better quarters

* This part of the ſpeech, included between crotchets, was omitted at the time of the preceding and following parts, and delivered ſeparately upon a ſecond call of Mr. Wilkes; but is here inſerted in its proper place, as better connecting the whole matter ſpoke to by General Burgoyne.

than a ſtranger might be able to find. This gentleman conducted me to a very elegant houſe, and, to my great ſurpriſe, preſented me to Mrs. Scuyler and her family; and in this General's houſe I remained during my whole ſtay at Albany, with a table of more than twenty covers for me and my friends, and every other poſſible demonſtration of hoſpitality: a ſituation, painful it is true in point of ſenſibility at the time, but which I now contemplate with ſome ſatisfaction, as carrying undeniable teſtimony how little I deſerved the charges of the honourable gentleman; and I leave it to his feelings, whether, after this explanation, ſome farther apology is not due to me.]

In regard to the firſt and moſt material queſtion aſked me by the honourable gentleman who propoſed the motion, viz. In what ſituation is the army at Cambridge? It is with ſome ſurpriſe I find that any part of this country is ignorant of the extraordinary circumſtances that have attended it, as I conceive government muſt have received intelligence of them ſome time ago. In regard to the report made by myſelf, I acquit the King's miniſters of any blame in not yet having made it public, becauſe it was ſo voluminous that the papers could not be digeſted and copied, with the conſtant labour of three clerks, before laſt Saturday, when they were put into the hands of the noble Lord, ſecretary of ſtate for the American department. But I truſt that noble Lord will now loſe no time to make public matters of ſuch importance. Let them undergo the ſcrutiny of the committee, as propoſed by the amended motion, and let the world judge, upon their report, whether the ſpirit of the troops and the honour of the nation have been ſuſtained and vindicated during thoſe tranſactions. In confidence that theſe papers cannot poſſibly be withheld, I refer the honourable gentleman to them for a full delineation and explanation of the ſtate of things at Cambridge, and will reſt my preſent information upon a few material facts. The troops have undergone hardſhips and trials of patience as ſevere, though of a different nature, as any they experienced in the conflicts of the campaign. They have acquitted themſelves with equal reſolution, temper, and honour. They are at preſent detained by a reſolve of the Congreſs, expreſſing that there are cauſes of ſuſpicion that the convention was deſigned to be broke on our part, and therefore they are juſtifiable, without breach of public faith, to ſuſpend the embarkation of the troops till the convention is ratified by the court of Great Britain.

In

In common with various pretences which involved other names in high departments to juſtify this meaſure, the Congreſs grounded many ſuppoſitions, that I knew to be unjuſt, upon my conduct. I thought it a duty to the ſtate, to the army, and to myſelf, to refute thoſe ſuppoſitions, and ſtill, if poſſible, to give immediate effect to the convention. It will reſt upon the Houſe to judge, when they ſee the papers, whether I made good that refutation. And that brings me to another queſtion aſked by the honourable gentleman: "By what means, and upon what condition, I am in perſon here?" Sir, I charged my aid-de-camp, who carried my diſpatch to the Congreſs in anſwer to their vote of ſuſpenſion, which the preſident had officially ſent me, with a ſecond letter, to be delivered in caſe the ſuſpenſion, after conſideration had of my firſt letter, was continued. The purport of this letter was to aſk paſſports for my perſonal return for the re-eſtabliſhment of my health (which was then much affected), for the purpoſe of ſettling large and complicated accounts, and other reaſons; and I offered to give a parole that, ſhould the ſuſpenſion of embarkation be prolonged beyond the time apprehended, I would return to America upon demand of the Congreſs, and due notice given, re-deliver my perſon into their hands, and abide the fate of the reſt of the army with whom I had ſerved. Sir, I had many reaſons, not neceſſary nor proper to be alleged to the Congreſs, founded upon a nearer intereſt than health or any private expediency, to make me deſirous to return home: to lay before government important truths, not to be communicated by other means, and to ſupply, as far as in me lay, by an aſſiduous and honeſt exertion in this Houſe, the misfortune that had diſenabled me from performing my duty in the field. I accompanied my letter to the Congreſs by one to General Waſhington, wherein, upon an opinion of his character, I aſked him for his ſupport to an application that could not interfere with the public duties of our reſpective ſituations. I ſhall beg leave to read his anſwer as part of my ſpeech; and I do it, Sir, not only leſt in theſe times of doubt and aſperſion, I ſhould incur cenſure for holding private correſpondence with an enemy, but likewiſe becauſe I think this letter, though from an enemy, does honour to the human heart. [Here the General read the following letter.]

Copy

Copy of a Letter from General Washington *to Lieutenant-General* Burgoyne.

Head-Quarters, Penſylvania, March 11*th*, 1778.

" SIR,

" I WAS, only two days ſince, honoured with your very obliging letter of the 11th of February.

" Your indulgent opinion of my character, and the polite terms in which your are pleaſed to expreſs it, are peculiarly flattering; and I take pleaſure in the opportunity you have afforded me of aſſuring you, that, far from ſuffering the views of national oppoſition to be imbittered and debaſed by perſonal animoſity, I am ever ready to do juſtice to the merit of the gentleman and the ſoldier; and to eſteem, where eſteem is due, however the idea of a public enemy may interpoſe. You will not think it the language of unmeaning ceremony, if I add, that ſentiments of perſonal reſpect, in the preſent inſtance, are reciprocal.

" Viewing you in the light of an officer contending againſt what I conceive to be the rights of my country, the reverſe of fortune you experienced in the field cannot be unacceptable to me; but, abſtracted from conſiderations of national advantage, I can ſincerely ſympathize with your feelings, as a ſoldier, the unavoidable difficulties of whoſe ſituation forbid his ſucceſs; and as a man, whoſe lot combines the calamity of ill health, the anxieties of captivity, and the painful ſenſibility for a reputation, expoſed, where he moſt values it, to the aſſaults of malice and detraction.

" As your aid-de-camp went directly on to Congreſs, the buſineſs of your letter to me had been decided before it came to hand. I am happy that their cheerful acquieſcence with your requeſt, prevented the neceſſity of my intervention. And, wiſhing you a ſafe and agreeable paſſage, with a perfect reſtoration of your health,

I have the honour to be,
Very reſpectfully,
Sir,
Your moſt obedient ſervant,
GEO. WASHINGTON."

Sir, the Congreſs readily conſented to my application; and by this candid treatment of my enemies, I am here to vindicate my conduct againſt the falſe and barbarous interpretations

pretations that have ariſen, and have been ſuffered to prevail, by thoſe who could have contradicted them, at home.

The honourable gentleman wiſhes to know what is the difference of numbers of the army between the time of ſigning the convention and the preſent time; and I find the idea of great deſertion very much prevails. That ſome have deſerted, in the worſt ſenſe of the word, is true. They are few, the ſcum of the regiments, and no loſs of real ſtrength. The greater part who have abſconded, have had no intention to abandon the ſervice, and if an epithet of honour could at any time be applied to a fault, theirs might be called an *honourable deſertion* *. Some of theſe men left letters or ſent meſſages to their officers, informing them that in their preſent want of neceſſaries and comforts, and their inability to ſerve in arms, they had taken to trades and day labour in the country, but that they held themſelves under an obligation, from which they would never depart, to return to their regiments whenever the time of embarkation was aſcertained: others, upon a high, though miſtaken, ſuggeſtion of ſpirit, made efforts to effectuate a paſſage through the woods, to join the armies under Sir William Howe or Sir Henry Clinton, and it is believed that ſome of them ſucceeded. The whole of the abſentees may amount to between five and ſix hundred men.

Sir, I have thus far endeavoured to give the honourable gentlemen ſatisfaction in the matters that ſeem moſt immediately to engage their attention, and that I could conſiſtently with order adduce in argument to ſupport my vote for a more general inquiry.

---

* General Burgoyne took occaſion in two ſubſequent debates to explain his meaning in this phraſe, which he found had been miſunderſtood both within and without the Houſe. He meant to apply the word *honourable* only to the common ſoldier's conception, who, unuſed to conſider and diſcriminate punctiliouſly the obligations of conventions with an enemy, acted only upon the principles of zeal to ſerve his king, and again to be actively employed in arms: that therefore their conduct was honourably intended, though miſconceived. That, ſo far from juſtifying that conception himſelf, he was perſuaded that to retain ſuch deſerters when demanded, or indeed diſcovered, would be an infringement of the convention; and he was perſuaded Sir William Howe or Sir Henry Clinton would, upon ſuch demand or diſcovery, return them.

I ſhall

I ſhall now proceed (as yet ſtronger reaſons for agreeing with the amendment) to take notice of what has hitherto paſſed in the Houſe, and upon very imperfect information, reſpecting other parts of the late campaign.

But, Sir, accuſtomed as I have been to be indulged by the Houſe upon every occaſion, and confident, as I ought to be, upon one where their indulgence is juſtice, I find cauſe in my own mind, in entering upon ſo complicated a ſubject, to implore anew the fulleſt ſcope to their patience and candour, for a man, whoſe faculties, far too weak for ſuch ſhocks, are almoſt unhinged by a ſucceſſion of difficulties abroad, that fall to the lot of few, and whoſe diſappointments and anxieties have been conſummated by the unexpected reception he has met at home.

And this addreſs, Sir, is the more neceſſary, becauſe I ſtand here unconnected and unaſſiſted. I am ignorant who would have ſupported my own motion, had I made it, though confident, from a prepoſſeſſion of its propriety, it would have found aſſiſtance ſomewhere. Neither courting nor fearing power, neither courting nor fearing party, I ſtand here upon the ſole baſis of truth and honour, and only aſk ſupport in proportion to the juſtice of my cauſe.

During my abſence an inquiry was inſtituted, in which my name was very much involved. In the ſhort ſpace of time ſince my return, and in the agitated ſtate of mind I have mentioned, it has been impoſſible for me to obtain, from the mere converſation and recollection of friends, all that paſſed upon that occaſion; but I have collected enough to know that I have been treated with great attention in general; and it is among my firſt duties to return to every quarter of the Houſe my very ſincere and grateful acknowledgments. I alſo know, that with all that attention and favour, much implied cenſure muſt have fallen upon me, from the nature of the proceedings, and more eſpecially from the poſition, which I cannot admit to be a true one, but which I underſtand has been much inſiſted upon, "That where there is miſcarriage there muſt be blame; and conſequently, that the acquittal of one man infers the condemnation of another."

Sir, the papers which have been laid before the Houſe are in ſome reſpects deficient, and in others ſuperfluous. The firſt ſuperfluity to which I allude, is a private letter from me to the noble Lord, acquainting him with my intention of going to Bath; of my audience with the King; of my ſolicitation to his Majeſty for active employment the next campaign; expreſſing my hopes

hopes of his Lordſhip's patronage in that purſuit, and concluding with ſuch acknowledgments and profeſſions as were natural to flow from a warm and unſuſpicious heart impreſſed with a ſenſe of another's favour.

Not conceiving for what poſſible public purpoſe this letter was produced, I can only attend to the effects it has had to prejudice me perſonally. Suſpicions have been excited, that at the time I wrote that letter I was courting command, and by adulatory means, in preference and in prejudice to Sir Guy Carleton, under whom I had had the honour to ſerve, a confidential ſecond, in the preceding campaign. Every perſon in government might have pronounced my acquittal of ſo baſe a proceeding, becauſe they knew, though the public did not, that it was decided * in the autumn of 1776, and notified to Sir Guy Carleton accordingly, that his military command was confined to the boundaries of the province of Quebec. It did not occur to the noble Lord to ſtate that fact, becauſe doubtleſs he did not foreſee the prejudices the letter would occaſion; but I cannot but lament he did not produce other letters of mine, which would have removed effectually every poſſible ſuſpicion of a deſign ſo foreign to my heart as that of ſupplanting a gallant friend. Such letters would at the ſame time have rendered unneceſſary the long train of correſpondence laid upon your table to ſhew that the preparations in Canada were duly expedited; becauſe I ſhould have been found to expreſs the fulleſt ſenſe of the zeal, the aſſiduity, and the honour, with which Sir Guy Carleton acted, notwithſtanding his diſappointment in not being employed to conduct the campaign.

Will it be ſaid, that the letters I allude to were withheld becauſe they were private?—In the firſt place, they do not properly come under that deſcription, though it is true they were not office letters.—They could not be directed as ſuch; becauſe, acting in ſubordination to Sir Guy Carleton, the official correſpondence could only with decorum paſs through him; but they were not private as applied to ſecreſy, nor

* This deciſion was made, not only upon the expediency of the governor attending the civil duties of the province, which were thought at that time to require particular attention, but alſo upon doubts whether the General's commiſſion authoriſed him to act beyond the boundaries: and this whole tranſaction paſſed long before the return of General Burgoyne to England, and entirely without his knowledge.

improper,

improper, as they related to the diſtinct and ſeparate object of the command I was entering upon. But, Sir, had any parts of theſe letters (or of any others neceſſary to my juſtification, of which I ſay there are many) been private in any ſenſe of the word, will that excuſe be alleged for detaining them, when there has appeared before you a paper of the moſt ſecret nature, I mean my thoughts upon conducting the war from the ſide of Canada. What officer will venture hereafter to give his opinion upon meaſures or men, when called upon by a miniſter, if his confidence, his reaſonings, and his preferences, are thus to be invidiouſly expoſed, to create jealouſies and differences among his fellow-officers, and at laſt to put an impoſition upon the world, and make him reſponſible for the plan as well as the execution of a hazardous campaign? The plan, as originally drawn, I have no reaſon to be aſhamed of, becauſe it underwent the inſpection, and had the ſanction, of ſome of the firſt and ableſt officers of this country: but the plan, as it ſtood when my orders were framed, can with no more propriety be called mine than any others formed by the cabinet for the diſtant parts of America, or any other quarter of the globe, where I had no participation or concern.—The noble Lord well knows that the idea expreſſed in the ſecret paper laid before you, of a latitude to act againſt New England, was eraſed; that a power to embark the troops in caſe of unforeſeen impediments, and make the junction with the ſouthern army by ſea was not admitted.—Will it then be inſinuated that the plan was mine?—Why was it not produced in that changed and garbled ſtate by which the miniſter made it his own? Becauſe it would have been one proof, if one had been wanting to unprejudiced minds, that by cutting off every propoſed latitude, and confining the plan to one only object, the *forcing* a paſſage to Albany, the orders framed upon that plan could be no otherwiſe underſtood than as poſitive, peremptory, and indiſpenſable. But, Sir, it has been boldly inſinuated, and perhaps even credited by ſome in this Houſe, that the words at the latter end of the orders, which are called the ſaving clauſe, were ſpecially dictated by me.—Sir, to ſuppoſe that, is to ſuppoſe me an ideot!—Saving clauſe!—to whom? Surely, not to the general who was to act under it; for ſee the ſituation in which it puts him.—Under the words, "you are to act as exigencies may require," let us ſuppoſe him to take the cautious part. He makes no attempt upon the enemy, becauſe his *exigency* was ſuch, that in doing ſo he muſt abandon his

his communications and risk his retreat. What would the government, the army, and the country have said to him? What ought every man to have said to him who read the prior part of this order?——"Is this vigorous exertion? Is this to *force* your way to Albany? The enemy were panic struck before British troops; their numbers therefore were but as shadows. The loyalists awaited your advance to join by thousands—Sir H. Clinton was ready to move upon the lower part of Hudson's river—Your interpretation of orders was nonsense; your inactivity was cowardice—You have ignominiously lost the campaign."

Take the consideration the other way——The General follows the principle, the spirit, and the letter of his order——fights his ground by inches, and miscarries. "You shall be disgraced for your rashness," says the minister.—"You had a reserve, and should have made use of it. *Exigencies* required you should have remained on the east side the Hudson's river." Sir, to imagine a general could dictate such a dilemma for himself is preposterous. To believe that ministers could mean it, is severe credulity against them; it would be to believe them capable of the equivocation of a fiend, to insure the ruin of those who acted under their direction, whatever part they should take. I charge them not so heavily. I am persuaded that saving clause was meant, when it was penned, as it has been understood by me, by Sir William Howe, and by every other person who has read it, as referring solely to exigencies after the arrival of my army at Albany.

But, Sir, this ideal blame, in not availing myself of the *saving clause*, has been supported by a story, that I should have hardly believed it within malevolence to invent, but which I find has been propagated with great industry, viz. that Generals Philips and Frazer remonstrated against the passage of the Hudson's river; and that finding their remonstrances of no avail, they took the parts of brave men in despair, and persevered in their duty against their reason. Upon the honour of a gentleman, without any saving or reservation whatsoever, I pronounce that report to be a direct and abominable falsehood. Sir, those officers were the eyes and the hands by which I conducted all material operations: more able advisers, or more faithful friends, never existed: that they saw I was placed in an arduous situation, and felt for my difficulties, it is true; but that they ever dropt a syllable that implied an idea that I had an alternative, I flatly deny.

deny. The indefatigable alacrity of General Philips to bring forward the tranſports, preparatory to the paſſage of the river, was uncommon even in ſupport of a favourite object; it would have been uncommon indeed, had he acted with ſecret reluctancy! As to General Frazer, our communications were thoſe of the moſt unreſerved friendſhip; and it is my pride to affirm, that the conſonancy of his ſentiments with mine were almoſt invariable. Upon the paſſage of the Hudſon's river, in particular, he thought it of uncontrovertible expediency; he thought it glorious danger; he was conſulted upon all meaſures at the time, and ſubſequent to it; he bore an active part in many; he approved of all; and the laſt ſentence he uttered, was a meſſage of affection and good wiſhes to me.

The other falſehoods that have been diſperſed reſpecting the ſame period of time, can hardly be urged as reaſons for inquiry, for they are below refutation; ſuch as the delays occaſioned by carrying forward *all* the artillery, and a cumbrous train of baggage. "It was a mark of Eaſtern pomp," ſays a miniſterial news-writer. That *all* the artillery was with the army is falſe, for the heavy train was ſent back to Canada: the field-train which remained was that which had been deſtined for the expedition, when Sir Guy Carleton expected to have the conduct of it in perſon. That intelligent and judicious officer, General Philips, had been conſulted upon the proportion; and it had been regulated upon the conſideration of the nature of the war; the power of that arm in forcing poſts, and againſt new troops; and the probability of having poſts ourſelves to fortify. Neither, Sir, was the artillery, in the proportion carried, the cauſe of the leaſt delay; becauſe the horſes that drew it were ſupernumerary to thoſe which were ſufficient for all the carts and waggons we had; and conſequently, within the time indiſpenſably given for the tranſport of the proviſion, the artillery was brought forward by horſes that could have been no otherwiſe employed.

The ſuppoſed quantity of baggage is equally erroneous. I cannot ſuffer an idea ſo unjuſt to the ſpirit of the army to remain upon the minds of the public. All baggage of bulk, to the abridgment of many material comforts, had been cheerfully left behind by the officers; ſome of them had not beds; many lay in ſoldiers' tents; and I know of none that had more than the common neceſſaries for active ſervice.

It

It muſt be total want of knowledge of the country and the war, to ſuppoſe that, with all theſe precautions, the train of carriages did not ſtill remain great. It is to be conſidered, there was a train of ſix hundred carriages; and thoſe too few for the indiſpenſable purpoſe of tranſporting proviſion where there was no water carriage; there was another train of very cumbrous carriages, equally neceſſary for the tranſport of the boats, where the rapids prevented their paſſage in the ſtream; a tranſport, in ſome places, of many miles in length. Sir, it would be trifling with the Houſe to dwell longer upon theſe cenſures, the offspring of malice and ignorance. The prevalence of ſuch reports tends to one uſe—it will perſuade the world, at leaſt, that material faults could not abound, when detraction itſelf is reduced to have recourſe to ſuch accuſation.

Sir, reverting therefore to the more groſs injuries my reputation has ſuſtained, I think I have ſtated enough to ſhew, that the character of a member has been unavoidably brought into queſtion; and upon his aſſertion, that the information the Houſe has proceeded upon is incomplete and fallacious, I know not what deſcription of men could juſtly refuſe to him perſonally a new and full inquiry.

I would aſk of miniſters themſelves, what would be their feelings if, after an unſucceſsful undertaking of high truſt and importance, and debarred, by an interdiction, from the preſence of their ſovereign, the means of ſubmitting their conduct to that royal breaſt, where juſtice and benevolence, and protection to the innocent, are ever to be expected, except when truth is perverted or concealed—what would be their feelings, if refuſed alſo an appeal to their country? To my brother officers in parliament I would more particularly apply for their ſupport to this amendment, as a common cauſe of the profeſſion: they will conſider the diſcouragement that muſt enſue, and the injury the ſervice muſt ſuffer, if an officer, who is conſcious to have done his beſt, whoſe greateſt enemies pretend not to impute to him any other charges than exceſs of zeal and erroneous judgment, and even theſe charges founded upon a mutilated ſtate of facts.—What is the ſtate of officers, if, upon ſuch grounds, and by the artful management of other circumſtances, they are diſgraced at court, put by, if not inevitably precluded the judgment of a military tribunal, and, at laſt, denied the only poſſible means of juſtification that remains—a parliamentary inveſtigation of a meaſure of ſtate with which the rectitude or criminalty of their con-

duct is inſeparably blended? To my honourable friends who made the original motion early in the winter, and all who took part in it, I may yet more ſtrenuouſly addreſs myſelf, to repair, by the paſſing this queſtion and amendment, the injury that unintentionally they brought upon me by the then confined mode of proceeding. To all theſe conſiderations, Sir, I could join, were it expedient, many more perſuaſive calls upon the human heart, to take up this proceeding for the ſake of an injured individual: but I wave an appeal to private ſentiments, and deſire the motion to be conſidered as a call upon the public duty of the Houſe; and, diveſting myſelf, as far as poſſible, of every perſonal motive; ſcorning the pitiful contention, for ſuch comparatively it would be, whether the miniſter ſhould exonerate himſelf from *this* error in his inſtruction, or the general from *that* in his execution; I here, in my place, as a repreſentative of the nation, require and demand a full and impartial inquiry into the cauſes of the miſcarriage of the northern army in an expedition from Canada.

It is a great national object. The criſis of the time emphatically requires it. The exiſtence of the Britiſh empire depends upon the exertions of the military, and the beſt foundation for public ſpirit is public juſtice. In addition to the natural animation which, as Britons, the army poſſeſs, place before their eyes that ſecondary ſpring and controller of human actions, reward and puniſhment. Let the firſt and moſt glorious reward, the honeſt applauſe of the country, be obtained by a ſcrutiny into truth, for thoſe who deſerve it: on the contrary, if there has been delinquency, let the ſpirit of Manlius preſide in the puniſhment.

"The hand of Fate is over us, and Heaven
"Exacts ſeverity from all our thoughts."

If there has been diſobedience; if unauthoriſed by circumſtances, if *uncompelled by orders* (for I will never ſhrink from that plea), a general has raſhly advanced upon the enemy, and engaged againſt inſurmountable odds; the diſcipline of the ſtate ſhould ſtrike, though it were a favourite ſon.

"*I, Lictor, deliga ad palum.*"

Theſe, Sir, are the means to excite true ambition in your leaders; theſe are the means to keep them in due reſtraint; this was the ſyſtem of the glorious patriot [Lord Chatham], whoſe obſequies you now celebrate; and could his aſhes awaken, they would burſt their cearments to ſupport it.

As

As for myſelf, if I am guilty, I fear I am deeply guilty: an army loſt! the ſanguine expectation of the kingdom diſappointed! a foreign war cauſed, or the commencement of it accelerated! an effuſion of as brave blood as ever run in Britiſh veins ſhed, and the ſevereſt family diſtreſſes combined with public calamity.—If this maſs of miſeries be indeed the conſequence of my miſconduct, vain will be the extenuation I can plead of my perſonal ſufferings, fatigue and hardſhip, laborious days and ſleepleſs nights, ill health and trying ſituations; poor and inſufficient will be ſuch atonement in the judgment of my country, or perhaps in the eyes of God: —yet, with this dreadful alternative in view, I provoke a trial—Give me inquiry—I put the intereſts that hang moſt emphatically by the heart-ſtrings of man—my fortune—my honour—my head—I had almoſt ſaid my ſalvation, upon the teſt.

But, Sir, it is conſolation to me to think that I ſhall be, even in ſurmiſe, the only culprit—Whatever fate may attend the general who led the army to Saratoga, their behaviour at that memorable ſpot muſt entitle them to the thanks of their country—Sir, it was a calamitous, it was an awful, but it was an honourable hour—During the ſuſpence of the anſwer from the general of the enemy, to the refuſal made by me of complying with the ignominious conditions he had propoſed, the countenance of the troops beggars deſcription—a patient fortitude; a ſort of ſtern reſignation, that no pencil or language can reach, ſat on every brow. I am confident every breaſt was prepared to devote its laſt drop of blood, rather than ſuffer a precedent to ſtand upon the Britiſh annals of an ignoble ſurrender.

Sir, an important ſubject of inquiry, as I mentioned at my outſet, ſtill remains—The tranſactions at Cambridge, and the cauſe of the detention of the troops. If I there have been guilty, let me there alſo be the only ſufferer.

Sir, there is a famous ſtory in ancient hiſtory, that bears ſome analogy to my circumſtances; and when alluſions tend to excite men's minds to exertions of virtue or policy, I ſhall never think them pedantic or miſplaced *. The event I mean happened in an age when Roman virtue was at its height. It

* It had been mentioned in a former debate, that reference to ancient hiſtory carried ſometimes an air of pedantry, and were ſeldom of uſe.

was that wherein Manlius devoted his ſon, and the firſt Decius devoted himſelf. A Roman army, ſhut up by the Samnites at Caudium, were obliged to ſurrender their arms, and to ſubmit to the more ignominious condition of paſſing under the yoke of the enemy. The conſul who had commanded them, propoſed in the ſenate to break the treaty, whereby the army was loſt to the ſtate, and to make him in perſon the expiation, by ſending him bound to the enemy to ſuffer death at their hands. In one point of view the preſent caſe extremely differs from the example; becauſe by the treaty at Saratoga the army was ſaved to the ſtate. It is the non-compliance with public faith that alone can loſe it—and here the parallel will hold; if I have been inſtrumental to the loſs of thoſe brave troops *ſince* the treaty, I am as culpable as if I had loſt them *by* the treaty, and ought to be the ſacrifice to redeem them. Sir, this reference may appear vain-glorious. It may be doubted whether there exiſts in theſe times public ſpirit ſeriouſly to emulate ſuch examples. I perhaps ſhould find myſelf unequal; but others, who are moſt ready to judge me ſo, muſt at leaſt give credit to one motive for ſtating the parallel—that I am too conſcious of innocence to apprehend there is the leaſt riſk of being expoſed to the trial.

Sir, I have only to return my ſincereſt thanks to the Houſe for the patience with which they have endured ſo long a treſpaſs upon their time, and to join my hearty concurrence with the other gentlemen who have ſpoken in favour of the amendment.

Lord *George Germaine* ſaid, the honourable gentleman ſeemed deſirous of an explanation to three circumſtances, which he would readily give him. As to the confidential letter, it was accidentally put among the official letters, and by that means was ſent by the clerks, among other papers, for which he was very ſorry. With reſpect to Monſ. St. Luc, that gentleman had introduced himſelf to him, as a man who had performed great ſervices at the head of the ſavages; and that, in converſation with him, he had been told, that the General [Mr. Burgoyne] was a fine officer with the regulars, but that he did not ſeem to like the ſavages, nor did he take the proper ſteps to retain their good-will: that he was *un brave homme, mais lourd comme un Allemand*—a very brave man, but as heavy as a German!—As to his not having acceſs to his ſovereign, there were various precedents for the refuſal, till his conduct had undergone a military inquiry. His Lordſhip concluded, that as military men were the moſt proper

per

per judges to decide in the preſent queſtion, he did not ſee the propriety of Parliament interfering in it at all.

Mr. *Cornwall* was likewiſe of opinion, that Parliament were incompetent judges of the matter then before the houſe.

The *Attorney General* [Mr. Thurlow] ſaid, they had obtained one inquiry into the matter, which had been ſufficient for the Houſe to form an opinion on the matter; for his part, he had formed one, though he ſhould not declare it.

Mr. *Grenville* wiſhed to revive the committee on the ſtate of the nation, and that the Canada papers might be laid before them.

Mr. *Fox* ſaid, the papers might be referred to a new committee, which he would prefer, becauſe he hoped the ſame reſolutions would not be paſſed: he was for a thorough and complete inveſtigation; he was apprehenſive that upon certain queſtions being aſked, the ſpirit of the honourable general would lead him to go into the detail for his own juſtification, and, from his openneſs and candour, he wiſhed to ſtate the motion ſo as to take in properly the whole unreſerved diſcuſſion of theſe melancholy events. If a committee revived the former ſubject, he ſhould lay open the dark and ſhameful deciſions, againſt poſitive facts, which paſſed that committee, under the banners of a noble Lord over the way [Lord George Germain]. All the hopes he now had, were, the Houſe had not yet ſanctified the reſolutions of that committee; there were now three times the number of members preſent that there were upon a former occaſion, and he hoped they would not go quite the length of the former committee. The ſurrender of the army was, as the worthy alderman had ſaid, ignominious to this country, whoever might be the occaſion of that ignominy, whether the general or the miniſtry.

Earl *Nugent* ſaid, there was not the leaſt blame any where in his opinion, but a ſeries of unexpected events, which were the fortune of war; that every thing reſpecting the charge of inhumanity, or cruelty, or unſoldierlike treatment, was merely a vague report; that he had read every thing publiſhed on the occaſion, and would aſſert, that not a ſingle paper, or letter of authenticity, had appeared to juſtify any harſh expreſſion againſt the commander in chief of the army which capitulated at Saratoga.

Mr. *Wilkes*, I am on this occaſion merely the echo of the public voice. I have made no perſonal attack on the commander in chief, nor undertaken to ſupport any charge againſt him. Meaſures, and not perſons, I deſired minutely

to inveſtigate; and the epithets which I employed, were to the facts and the events. I ſuppoſe it will be admitted, that the convention in 1777 at Saratoga was more diſgraceful than the capitulation at Cloſter Seven in 1757, becauſe the troops there kept their arms.

I have not proceeded, Sir, at any time on vague report. I referred to authentic letters publiſhed by order of the Congreſs, and to other ſtate papers of unqueſtionable authority, which demand the moſt ſerious attention, and niceſt ſcrutiny. The memory of the noble Lord who ſpoke laſt, muſt either be very confuſed, or his reading very confined.

The honourable gentleman [General Burgoyne] has given us a good deal of the ancient Roman hiſtory, but overlooked two or three important queſtions relating to very modern tranſactions, and our own hiſtory. I wiſh, Sir, an anſwer to the charge I have repeatedly read of the burning villages and houſes, and the wanton deſtruction and devaſtation of property during the progreſs of the northern army under his command.

One word, Sir, before I ſit down, on what is ſtated by the honourable gentleman, as an event in the Roman hiſtory ſimilar to the affair of Saratoga. A conſiderable Roman army was ſhut up by the Samnites at the *Furcæ Caudinæ*, obliged to capitulate, and with their general to paſs under the yoke. So far is retailed out to us, but the ſequel of the tranſaction is not mentioned. I ſhall give it briefly to the Houſe. Early in the following year, the dictator Cornelius Lentulus put himſelf at the head of the ſame Roman legions, and gave the Samnites a total overthrow. It was no article of the capitulation at Caudium, that the ſame troops ſhould not ſerve again againſt the ſame enemy. The Samnite general, Pontius, was the very next year after the affair of the Caudine Forks, with the whole Samnite army, forced by the Romans to paſs under the yoke, unarmed, with only one garment each, that the former ignominy might be retaliated by the ſame troops on the ſame enemy. The Roman ſpirit ſoon made a conqueſt of the whole country of the Samnites, and afterwards of all Italy and the world.

Lord *George Gordon*. I hope this very melancholy account of the ſufferings of the King's army under the command of that unfortunate general [General Burgoyne] will at length impreſs Parliament with a due ſenſe of the raſhneſs of their proceedings, and prove a timely example and warning to his Majeſty, and to the people, that the moſt accompliſhed generals,

nerals, at the head of the completeſt armies, when employed by arbitrary power to reduce mankind to unconditional ſubmiſſion, are defeated and fruſtrated in their wicked attempts by the heavenly interpoſition of the Divine Providence.

It has pleaſed God to ſupport the zealous aſſertors of civil and religious liberty in their juſt rights; and by crowning their reſiſtance with ſucceſs, he has, through his infinite mercy, averted thoſe evils from America, which the violent proceedings of this kingdom, both in church and ſtate, have ſo manifeſtly threatened.

The experience of a few years has ſhewed to the whole world the juſtneſs of their apprehenſions, and the hiſtorians of this war will be puzzled to decide, whether the governors of the church, or the governors of the ſtate, have been moſt eager, bloody, and oppreſſive in their purſuit after American ſubjection.

The ambitious prelates in the Houſe of Lords have dared to countenance his Majeſty in preferring popery when he had it in his power to have eſtabliſhed proteſtantiſm, and Parliament has confirmed it annually, by not complying with the pious petitions of the proteſtant inhabitants of Canada, who have devoutly, religiouſly, and conſtitutionally implored the repeal of that obnoxious act, the Quebec bill, as eſtabliſhing the government of their country upon the narrow baſis of French law, and militating in the higheſt degree againſt the glorious conſtitution of this kingdom.

Thoſe ſame high prelates have countenanced his Majeſty in employing the ſavages—heathens, without grace or mercy, to carry deſolation and deſtruction amongſt the preſbyterians and independents in America. And that moſt horrible maſſacre of Miſs Mac Ray's, will remain an indelible ſtain on the religion and humanity of Great Britain in after ages, when Queen Mary's maſſacre of the proteſtants in England, and the perſecutions of the preſbyterians in Scotland by King Charles and their predeceſſor Archbiſhop Laud, of infamous memory, ſhall be done away and forgotten.

I am very happy at the ſame time to be able to make two moſt goodly exceptions in the perſons of the right reverend Biſhops of Peterborough and St. Aſaph, who have done honour to religion and their country, through the pious courſe of their own lives, and by their generoſity and loving-kindneſs to their brethren in America.

If I have not already treſpaſſed too long on the indulgence I very unworthily meet with, I beg to add, that from my attachment to his Majeſty's perſon and family, and for the love I bear my fellow-ſubjects, their lives and liberties, I hope there is no truth in what has been of late very much reported about town, I mean the promotion of certain characters. For I am of opinion, that if his Majeſty can be ſo ill-adviſed, ſo far miſled, and ſo deluded, as to continue any longer in his council, or to confer any honours, places, penſions, profit, or emolument, on thoſe unhappy perſons who have wickedly attempted to reduce the colonies to unconditional ſubmiſſion, his Majeſty will as juſtly, as neceſſarily, and as certainly loſe the confidence and ſupport of the people of Great Britain, as he has clearly and evidently thirteen flouriſhing provinces, and three millions of the braveſt, moſt religious, and virtuous ſubjects of the crown.

I ſhall vote for the inquiry, as amended by the honourable member on the floor [Mr. Fox], in compliance to the wiſhes of the unfortunate general who is ſo very ſeriouſly intereſted in the event.

The queſtion was now put upon the amendment, when the numbers were 95 for the amendment, and 144 againſt it.

Mr. *T. Luttrell* drew a compariſon between the conduct of the officer and of his miniſter. In former times, he ſaid, it had been the cuſtom of Britons to give praiſe and thanks to ſuch of their officers and ſervants as exerted their ſtrenuous and zealous efforts for the public weal, even if thoſe efforts were not crowned with ſucceſs; but now-a-days they beſtow praiſe only in proportion to the liſtleſſneſs and inattention with which theſe ſervants performed their duty.

The noble Lord, ſays he, in the blue ribbon [Lord North] diſclaims being dictator whenever the miſmanagement of government comes under the conſideration of Parliament. Whether Great Britain is proſperous or defeated, it is none of his plan, none of his act. In every thing eſſential to the greatneſs or happineſs of the nation, we find the noble Lord timid; he is not firſt miniſter, he is only the inſtrument of the privy council; he has but one humble vote there, and cannot be accountable to the nation for the folly of the plans he undertakes to recommend to his Sovereign. And ſhould the plan ſtrike at the liberties of his country, at the very root of the conſtitution, he is then but the echo of Parliament. In what is the noble Lord daring and enterpriſing? He prides himſelf but in one act founded on his own reſolution,

tion, judgment and integrity; he aſks credit in Parliament but for one ornament added to the crown, one benefit to the ſtate; that act of his own conſiſts in having fixed on a criſis of impending ruin and calamity unknown in the annals of our hiſtory before, and which the firm ſpirit and exalted wiſdom of a Chatham might have found difficult to cope with; then did he ſeize the glorious opportunity to recommend to his Sovereign a war miniſter, whoſe public incapacitation for every vigorous exertion of mind, whoſe diſgrace at the court of George the Second, was founded on the moſt deciſive cenſure of a court martial; whoſe loſs of the nation's confidence, and his own character, is a public record. What had the nation to expect from his councils? What plan of his, ſince in his office, dare he expoſe to the public eye and ſay, it has ſucceeded? Why then ſhould we give him a partial acquittal to the prejudice of a gallant officer, whoſe only crime has been avowedly that he was too zealous, too brave, too enterpriſing, too anxious for the good of his country, had ſtrictly obeyed his orders, and done all that Britiſh valour was capable of, to carry the miniſter's plan into execution. Had he, inſtead of that, receded from his colours, diſobeyed the commands of his ſuperiors, and hid himſelf from danger, he might have had pretenſions to one noble Lord's patronage [Lord North], and to the other's [Lord George Germain] dignities and emoluments. General Burgoyne aſks a fair and open trial; the man who ſhrinks from it, and avails himſelf of an unjuſt, partial acquittal, muſt be guilty.

Lord *George Germain* ſaid, that he never was perſonal in the Houſe, never by any conduct of his merited ſuch an attack; he deſpiſed that honourable member, but would level himſelf with his wretched character and malice; old as he was, he would meet that fighting gentlemen, and be revenged. He was interrupted by a cry of order in the Houſe, and general confuſion. The Speaker ſaid, if the Houſe would ſupport him, he would keep order. A cry of chair, chair.

Lord *North* admitted, that Lord George Germain had been out of order, what fell from him had nothing to do with the queſtion. It was a perſonal attack on an individual, and therefore out of order.

Mr. *Luttrell* ſaid, he would not be bullied out of the privilege of a member of that Houſe; he had a right to ſpeak his ſentiments publicly and fully on a public character. The

ſen-

ſentence of the court-martial, in the reign of George the Second, was a public record, relative to a man in a public poſt of truſt, which required ſpirit, zeal abilities, and integrity, and many eſſential qualities, as requiſite in a war miniſter as in a general. He had not alluded to the noble Lord's private vices or virtues, and if he could be conceived out of order, as to the queſtion, it could not imply that public charge of the miniſter was a private perſonality.

[Mr. Luttrell took an opportunity, in the confuſion of debate, to attempt to get out of the Houſe, to avoid being compelled to promiſe not to reſent Lord George Germain's perſonal abuſe of him, but the Speaker gave orders to the Serjeant at arms, to ſtop Mr. Luttrell, and bring him to his ſeat.]

The Speaker then ſaid, that words of heat having dropped from two honourable members, in the courſe of the debate, he muſt deſire they would pledge their honours that it ſhould go no farther.

Lord *George Germain* ſaid, if he had ſaid any thing that was improper to be ſaid in the Houſe, he was ſorry for it, and hoped the Houſe would excuſe it. He acknowledged he was out of order.

Mr. *Luttrell* was then called upon—He ſaid, if, after being inſulted for doing his duty, he was to be committed for delivering the ſentence of George the Second, he ſhould prefer being committed, to giving up the privilege of parliament, and promiſing to take no notice of a perſonal attack, not founded upon public opinion, upon any ſentence, upon any trial, and hearing epithets made uſe of againſt him, which was meant as perſonal as they appeared, he ſhould give no other anſwer, and abide by the deciſion of the Houſe.

Several members roſe, and a diſpute enſued, whether Lord George had made ſufficient apologies or not, and a motion made about eleven o'clock, by Mr. Buller,

"That the Hon. Temple Luttrell be immediately taken into the cuſtody of the Serjeant at arms."

Diſputes continued till paſt twelve, in which Sir James Lowther, Sir George Yonge, Mr. Howard, and others, were of opinion that the privilege of Parliament would ſuffer, if Mr. Luttrell was committed upon the preſent facts before the Houſe, and drew a diſtinction between public and private charges.

Mr. Buller, Mr. Onſlow, and many members, on that ſide, thought Lord George Germaine could not, in honour, make

make further apologies, and were therefore for committing Mr. Luttrell.

Mr. *Luttrell* ſtood up again, and ſaid, that being again informed by the oldeſt members of parliament from every quarter of the Houſe, that no public buſineſs whatever could go on till this altercation was ſettled, and being reſolved to abide, at all events, by his privilege of parliament, he ſhould beg leave to ſecond the motion for his immediate commitment; that by his abſence the Houſe might proceed on a queſtion of great importance to every military man, and to the whole nation; and that, as parliament had but a few days more to ſit before its prorogation, and ſtill more weighty affairs of ſtate remained for their diſcuſſion, it was neceſſary to diſcharge this diſpute, he would make no apology for public ſeverity of language, but an apology he muſt ſeek for perſonal inſult to himſelf.

Upon this, Mr. Luttrell was, between twelve and one o'clock in the morning, going to be taken into the cuſtody of the Serjeant at Arms, when Lord *George Germaine* aroſe to make a ſecond apology, which was fairly and particularly addreſſed to the honourable gentleman, for certain improper words which the noble Lord had addreſſed to him from the warmth of debate, and from feeling himſelf hurt by the charges ſtated againſt him.

Mr. *Temple Luttrell* then ſaid, that now the Houſe were ſatisfied that ſufficient apology was made for the perſonality they had heard ſpoken againſt him, he ſhould, out of reſpect to the Houſe, comply with their injunctions, that it ſhould go no further; and begged leave once more to obſerve, that what was ſaid by him of the noble Lord was meant as public matter, not as private abuſe or enmity.

The previous queſtion was put on Mr. Vyner's motion, and carried without a diviſion *.

The

* Lieutenant-General Fraſer took occaſion, at the end of the debate, to inform the Houſe, that his relation, Brigadier-General Fraſer, correſponded with him in the moſt confidential manner; that he received letters from him, dated at the time of paſſing the Hudſon's River, which were the laſt he ever wrote; that neither in theſe letters, nor in any previous ones, did he mention any diſapprobation of paſſing the river; but, on the contrary, ſpoke his opinion, in

The Right Hon. T. Townſhend moved, "That the ſum of 20,000*l.* be granted towards the payment of the debts of the late Earl of Chatham." Agreed to *nem. con.*

The Iriſh importation bill being read,

Sir *George Yonge* moved, That the ſaid bill be committed on this day two months.

Lord *Newhaven* ſaid, he was anxious to embrace the firſt moment to convince the Houſe, that his dividing the Houſe about a week ago on this queſtion did not proceed from a deſire to give the Houſe trouble, but to comply with the conviction of his own mind, that he ought to take the ſenſe of the Houſe on ſo very intereſting a queſtion; thinking it much better to determine the fate of the bill there than to feed the hopes of the people of Ireland for ten days longer, and then reject it; which could only heighten, which could only aggravate, and ſtill more embitter this diſappointment, if it did not paſs into a law.

That, if it did not paſs, he muſt lament that it ever came into the Houſe; for, as it had not the moſt favourable reception, the expectations of the people of Ireland were raiſed to the higheſt pitch, and would now be plunged into the deepeſt deſpair. That, while nothing was done, they ſtill had hope to cheriſh them, that ſome time or other ſomething might be done; but if this bill was rejected the curtain of deſpair muſt be drawn on their hopes for ever. That the evidence at the bar and the counſel who pleaded for them urged, that if this bill paſſed it would take ſomething from England; though in the ſame breath they tell you that ſomething ought to be done for Ireland: but that that ſomething muſt not be any thing taken from England. Arguments too abſurd, futile, and ridiculous to be ſeriouſly refuted. He ſaid, he had read all the petitions upon the table againſt this and the other bills, in which were enumerated various articles in which the petitioners thought they would be injured; but at the ſame time they ſum up the whole of their apprehenſions and terrors in this one ſweeping objection; that from the cheapneſs of labour the Iriſh would underſell them at all foreign markets. He urged, if this argument was admitted, and that Ireland was never to receive any benefit till Great Britain could work as cheap as her, it muſt ſtrike every man that Ireland can never

---

in the ſtrongeſt terms, in favour of General Burgoyne and his meaſures.

receive

receive any indulgence from England; and without advantage in trade Ireland muſt ever remain in its preſent ſtate of indigence, and labour be for ever cheaper than in England. All which ſhewed clearly that the poſtponing the bill could gain it no advocates; for the argument of the petitioners againſt it would be the ſame next year as this, and ſo on for ever, while the poverty of Ireland and the jealouſy of England exiſted. That if this bill was rejected, it was at once telling the people of Ireland, You have ſoil, you have climate, you have millions of inhabitants that you could turn to lawful induſtry, you are bleſſed with harbours where your fleets of commerce may ride in ſafety, and your iſle, by the hand of Providence, is better ſituated for the commerce of the weſtern world; but all this ſhall avail you nothing: America ſhall be exempt from taxation, they ſhall be the arbitrary deſpots of their own ſoil; but Ireland muſt continue for ever to ſmart under the proſcribing hand of Great Britain. He divided the Houſe, and was the ſingle member who voted againſt putting it off for two months.

May 27.

Mr. *David Hartley*. The motion which I ſhall offer to you to-day requires very little explanation, and I hope the Houſe will think that it requires no apology. It will ſpeak for itſelf; therefore I ſhall be very ſhort upon the ſubject. If I thought that it could poſſibly admit of any debate, that the Houſe before their prorogation ſhould make a ſort of recapitulation of the objects which have been adopted as the ultimate end of all our labours during this ſeſſion, I might trouble you with ſome arguments to induce your compliance. But as the ſyſtem of conciliating America by thoſe reaſonable conceſſions which we, on this ſide of the Houſe, have been many years a pleading for, has now been adopted by the adminiſtration themſelves, I could wiſh to fix the ſenſe of the Houſe and of the public to perſeverance in the ſame diſpoſition, and that they ſhould publiſh to the whole world that the change in their conduct has not ariſen from any temporary caprice, but from a ſedate and conſiderate review of paſt meaſures reſpecting America, and a firm conviction of their injuſtice and folly, thus producing, as the fruit of that conviction, a total reverſal of them. It certainly may fall out, that the conceſſions now offered to America may not be received as they would have been ſome time ago, when we, on this ſide of the Houſe, ſo ſtrenuouſly contended that ſome

ſome offers of conceſſion and accommodation ſhould be made to them: that it is poſſible that this may happen, will be allowed by thoſe who are moſt ſanguine in their expectations of ſucceſs from the commiſſioners. For my own part, I am perfectly clear, that their voyage will be totally fruitleſs. The terms which you now offer might have ſerved to have brought on a treaty of accommodation if they had been offered ſome time ago; for inſtance, when the noble Lord at the head of the treaſury offered what was called his conciliatory propoſition; but a fallacious indeciſion has accompanied every meaſure that has been taken towards the recovery of the affections of America by any proceedings of juſtice or moderation. For theſe reaſons principally it is that I offer this motion to you to-day, to ſignify that you are heartily and ſincerely bent upon accompliſhing the great object of reconciliation with America; that you value peace above every other conſideration whatſoever; and if any rubs ſhould happen in your preſent plan, to declare to all the world that you will be ready to co-operate with his Majeſty in any further conciliatory meaſures which may be neceſſary to give efficacy to your pacific intentions. I cannot imagine that any one can poſſibly object to an addreſs to the King declaratory of theſe diſpoſitions. And, as to the other part of the addreſs, viz. "that this Houſe will always be ready with the moſt vigorous exertions to ſupport the national honour in the ſight of all foreign powers, whenever any occaſion ſhall offer, in conſequence of any inſult or attack meditated or executed by any hoſtile or rival ſtate," it is not poſſible that there can be two opinions upon the ſubject. And if any pledge can be wanting to the nation, that their repreſentatives will never deſert the cauſe of the national honour, it will be a double aſſurance to them when they ſee that we are putting the country into a ſtate of preparation to defend ourſelves againſt any inſult or attack from our natural enemies, by following up with attention and efficacy every conciliatory meaſure towards America which can contribute to reſtore that unity of affection which ſubſiſted between us in the days when we had together but one common cauſe of union, glory, and ſucceſs. I therefore move you, Sir, "That an humble addreſs be preſented to his Majeſty, to repreſent to his Majeſty, that the great and important events which have come to the public notice ſince the commencement of the preſent ſeſſion of parliament, both with reſpect to the ſtate of the American war, and

and the conduct of the court of France towards Great Britain, are of the moſt alarming nature, and call for the moſt ſpeedy and prudent counſels to put a ſtop to the progreſs of the war in America, as well as the moſt vigorous and deciſive meaſures to repel any hoſtile attempts from France. To aſſure his Majeſty that his declaration at the beginning of the preſent ſeſſion, "that he ſhould conſider the reſtoration of peace in America as the greateſt happineſs of his life, and the greateſt glory of his reign," is perfectly conſonant to the diſpoſitions of his faithful Commons; and that his further declaration to them in the courſe of the preſent ſeſſion, "of his determination to maintain and uphold the power and reputation of this country in reſpect to all foreign nations," is not leſs ſatisfactory to them, as the national honour muſt ever be as dear to them as it can be to his Majeſty himſelf. To repreſent to his Majeſty, that thoſe two points, of reſtoring peace in America, and of maintaining the national honour in the ſight of all foreign powers, are the neareſt to the hearts of his faithful Commons, and that they will never relax from purſuing them with ſincerity and ardour till they ſhall be fully and effectually accompliſhed. That his faithful Commons beg leave to expreſs theſe ſentiments in the moſt public manner to his Majeſty, with this view, that there may remain no doubt or ſuſpicion in the minds of any perſons in America of their ſincere deſire for the reſtoration of peace, which they value and prefer above all other conſiderations whatſoever; and for which purpoſe they will be ready to co-operate with his Majeſty in any further conciliatory meaſures which may be neceſſary to give efficacy to their intentions; and that it may be known at the ſame time to all foreign powers, that the Commons of Great Britain ſtand always prepared, upon all juſt and neceſſary occaſions, to reſent every inſult, and to repel every attack upon the dignity of his Majeſty's crown and upon the national honour."

Sir *George Savile* ſeconded the motion.

Lord *North* ſaid, he heartily concurred in the motion.

Mr. *Grenville* thought that the words *any further conciliatory meaſures* were very looſe, and might be conſtrued to include the independency of America, which he was not for allowing. He muſt therefore wiſh that either thoſe words may be totally left out, or other words inſerted, reſtraining this approbation to ſuch meaſures as were conſonant to the act appointing commiſſioners,

Earl

Earl *Nugent* did not approve of any amendment. He was for having the motion negatived as it ſtood.

Lord *Newhaven* oppoſed the motion; ſaying, he would never agree to it, as he ſuſpected independence to America lurking in ſome corner of it; and called upon the noble Lord in the blue ribbon to ſay whether it did or not. That he had, ever ſince he ſat in Parliament, ſupported government to the beſt of his poor abilities, with a view to recover America from its unhappy deluſion, to a juſt and lawful obedience to the mother country. That he had never wiſhed to enſlave America, but ardently wiſhed they ſhould continue ſubjects to Great Britain as free as himſelf, with the fulleſt exerciſe of all the rights of the Britiſh conſtitution; but that he would never give a vote to render them independent, or ſuffer them, while the power of this country exiſted, to extort it by rebellion. That he would be bold to ſay, that it was not in the power of King, Lords, and Commons, to give independence to one part of the Britiſh dominions to the prejudice of the reſt. He lamented, that there was an end to all government in this country; that the laws of the land ſtood ſtill, and that the conſtitution reeled to and fro like a drunken man, the ſport and paſtime of every wanton boy in the ſtreet.

That our fleet and army, including militia, conſiſted of near two hundred thouſand men; that our fleet was the beſt this country ever ſaw; and that fifteen millions had this ſeſſion been already voted, not as he believed (as had been given out) for the purpoſe of reducing America, but rather, if he was to judge from our timid and daſtardly proceedings, calculated to give triumph to our natural enemies the French, who had ſo groſsly inſulted us. That there was a general deſpondency in the people, and every mind in anxious ſuſpence waiting the event of this awful and gloomy calm.

That he was aſſured, when the rebels heard we had voted fifteen thouſand new levies for America, they ſaid, if they arrived, they muſt ſubmit; but that at this hour not a man of them had left Great Britain. And for theſe few reaſons he did moſt heartily ſecond the motion of the honourable gentleman [Mr. Grenville].

Lord *North* thought the motion was in its original ſtate worded with great care and prudence; for it did not touch upon

upon any one point in conteſt between Great Britain and America; yet it gave to America a freſh and unequivocal proof of the earneſt wiſh of Parliament to make peace with America.

Sir *George Savile* jocoſely obſerved, that it was no wonder the councils ſhould reel, for our adminiſtration had been drunk theſe four years.

Sir *William Meredith* ſaid, that whether or not the motion went ſo far as to offer independence, it was a certain known truth that it was not the intereſt of America to inſiſt on it. The religion, language, cuſtoms, manufactures, and laws of this country, would naturally invite a connexion between them and us. France and her laws were odious to them. Extreme diſtreſs was the only tie that united America with France. The independence of America would only be of ſervice to a few of the rulers. The people at large would ſuffer by it. It was as inconſiſtent with their intereſt to deſire, as it was with our honour to grant it. The mean conceſſions of miniſtry, he feared, would not be accepted. Propoſitions of reconciliation with a people who had been ſo ill uſed, in order to have effect, ſhould come from men in whom that people could have a proper confidence, not from thoſe who had ſo long haraſſed and deceived them.

The friends of the motion perceiving, from the diſpoſition of the Houſe, that if the queſtion was put, it would be carried in the negative, ſtrongly ſolicited the mover to withdraw it.

Mr. *Hartley* concluded the debate by ſaying, that as to the objection of American independence being couched under the terms of the propoſed addreſs, his opinions were ſo well known upon the ſubject, that he need not ſeek to conceal them; but, that, in the preſent caſe, no other or ulterior views were lurking under cautious words, but ſuch as the natural prudence of perſons, avowedly reluctant to the independence of America, had induced them to conſent to; that he had communicated the terms of his motion to perſons who were far from being favourers of independence, but who had ſome degree of prudence, not deſperately to cut off all poſſible retreat; that if every tacit ſuggeſtion of moderation is to be abjured, he only could lament the folly and imprudence of ſuch diſpoſitions; that he would venture to foretell, that the day would come, when the Houſe would regret having put a negative upon the preſent motion, and would perhaps think it a good

bargain to have it in their power to make a peace with America, ſimply upon the terms of independence. As to withdrawing the motion which was ſo much preſſed upon him, he conſented: having diſcharged his mind in having offered it, he ſaw no good, in the preſent temper of the Houſe, in forcing them to a negative.

May 28.

Mr. *Elwes* reported from the ſelect committee, to whom it was referred to conſider and examine the accounts of extraordinary ſervices incurred and paid, and not provided for by parliament, which have been laid before the Houſe in the years 1776, 1777, and 1778; that the committee had agreed upon a report, which they had directed him to make to the Houſe. He read the title of the report, and afterwards delivered it in at the table.

Colonel *Barré* animadverted upon ſome of the moſt leading facts which came out in the inquiry; explained his motives for propoſing the inquiry; and pointed to ſome of the advantages ariſing from ſuch a meaſure; though the great object meant to be obtained, that of detecting public delinquency, and following it with puniſhments proportioned to its degree and extent, ſhould, for a while, be fruſtrated. He ſaid, whatever may have come out in the examination of witneſſes, thoſe who propoſed the committee originally did not find themſelves much miſtaken in their previous conjectures. Much has been diſcovered, though much more had been held back; and if malverſation in office was not made manifeſt, neglect and incapacity were; if corruption was not proved, profuſion, and a moſt ſhameful waſte of public money, was ſufficiently apparent.

He paid many handſome compliments on the general conduct of the gentlemen who compoſed the committee; nor did he mean to confine this declaration to the particular members who thought with him on the ſubject; but, without reſerve, to extend it to thoſe on each ſide of the Houſe. There was a degree of good temper and candour, which pervaded the whole committee, and ſeemed to influence the conduct of each individual member of it; which he ſeldom was ſo fortunate to be witneſs to; and he remembered but two inſtances, in which that harmony and good underſtanding was broke in upon; one was in relation to a certain ſpecies of evidence, which the majority of the committee thought proper to deem inadmiſſible; the other was, the refuſal to call a wit-

a witneſs to a ſecond examination, upon facts, which, from other evidence, it was clear muſt have come within his knowledge. He then obſerved, that it was now too late to take the report into conſideration, juſt on the eve of a prorogation: in the courſe of the next ſeſſion he would, as a part of his duty, call the attention of the Houſe to ſeveral of the moſt material parts of its contents. He flattered himſelf, if he had not done all he had a right to hope for, he effected more than he expected by the point of ſending the inquiry upſtairs to a ſelect committee, inſtead of having the examination take place in the Houſe, where, from the great aſſiſtance of the repreſentatives of the people, a fuller and more efficacious inveſtigation might have been reaſonably expected; and where, beſides, the power of compelling the attendance of witneſſes, and ſeveral circumſtances growing out of that authority, would, of courſe, be more adequate and effectual. He then moved, That the report be laid on the table, in order to be taken into conſideration early in the next ſeſſion.

Mr. *Jenkinſon* agreed with the honourable gentleman, that no committee, conſidering the various objects which came before them, ever conducted buſineſs with more harmony and good temper. He begged leave, however, to differ from the honourable gentleman as to his interpretation of the nature of the evidence which was brought forth. He denied, that it imported public profuſion, or waſte of public treaſure, any more than it diſcloſed any thing criminal. The only beneficial tendency which ſtruck him, probable to ariſe from the inquiry, was, that it ſhewed, in ſome inſtances, that the offices were impoſed on; of courſe, it would ſerve to guard thoſe in office from ſuch impoſitions in time to come, and admoniſhed them to act with more circumſpection; but if, on the other hand, the hurry of the buſineſs which preſſed on thoſe offices, the great extent of the tranſactions, and the peculiar neceſſity of diſpatch, were conſidered, he would be bold to maintain, that at no preceding period were the public finances ever more prudently and œconomically adminiſtered.

As to the two facts alluded to by the honourable gentleman, though he attended the committee every day but one, he did not recollect any ſuch circumſtance as either of thoſe alluded to; or, if they happened while he was preſent, did they ſtrike him in the ſame light as that repreſented by the honourable gentleman: if the ſenſe of the committee ap-

peared againſt them, he was inclined to believe that it aroſe from very cogent reaſons.

Mr. *Stanley* ſaid, he was abſent but one day from the committee, during its ſitting; and proteſted, he ſaw not the leaſt foundation for thoſe inſinuations thrown out by the honourable gentleman; as if, though the whole buſineſs was conducted with the utmoſt good temper, yet that, that part of it which was apparent among his friends, proceeded more from a conſciouſneſs, that their ſtruggles would prove inefficacious, than from their internal approbation.

The honourable gentleman, he ſaid, had pointed out one or two inſtances, in which an acquieſcence in the ſenſe of the committee aroſe from this foreknowledge of the improbability of ſucceſs. The firſt, relative to the inadmiſſibility of evidence; the other, as to the refuſal of permitting a witneſs to be examined a ſecond time, who had before been diſmiſſed from further attendance. As to the former, no one ſubſtantial reaſon was urged in behalf of the admiſſibility of evidence propoſed to be given; and as to the latter, if the honourable gentleman, or his friends, wiſhed to have the witneſs re-examined, it was the eaſieſt thing imaginable to move for a ſecond order to bring him before the committee.

Colonel *Barré* replied, he was pleaſed to hear a gentleman of his weight [Mr. Jenkinſon], and long experience in buſineſs; he, who was ſo long connected nearly with the very board [treaſury], the conduct of which was the object of inquiry; ſo ingenuouſly and fairly acknowledge, that, although the committee diſcovered no malverſation in office, no ſhameful waſte, or public profuſion, yet that this ſignal benefit was derived from it, that the inquiry led to the diſcloſure and detection of impoſition; that it would put miniſters, in future, with all thoſe employed under them, on their guard; that it would make them more attentive, inquiſitive, and circumſpect. Was this, then, nothing gained? Was it not a great acquiſition on the beſt principle of all human policy, that of prevention; of ſaving the nation, in the firſt inſtance; and extirpating the evil, in order to prevent its effects.

He heard the other honourable gentleman [Mr. Stanley], with great attention. Says he, if you wiſhed to have the witneſs examined a ſecond time, why not move for a freſh order for his attendance? This very witneſs [Mr. Atkinſon] was diſmiſſed; and, at the deſire of the honourable gentleman, or ſome of his friends, was examined a ſecond time, without a freſh

freſh order having been ſerved upon him. It is this adherence to ceremonial at one time, and flagrant departure from it at another, that gives me, as a member of the committee, a right to complain. If the rule was a wiſe, or a good one, it ſhould have been adhered to; if not, it ſhould be indiſcriminately diſpenſed with. The fact I allude to was the rum contract; the other was not leſs glaring. Similar evidence had been admitted, without a ſingle objection being made to it. But, ſays the honourable gentleman who ſpoke laſt, all was unanimity—I grant it; but, I contend, it was, upon many occaſions, little more than the ſemblance. We were generally about five to twelve. We were the minority there, as well as here; when, therefore, a doubt ſtarted, an objection was made, or a difference of opinion aroſe, acquieſcence gave the appearance of unanimity; when I can aſſure the honourable gentleman the minority of the committee were far from approving of what was done.

Sir *George Yonge* thought matters of ſingular conſequence had come out in the courſe of the inquiry; and contended, that the preſent report, conſidered both in a retroſpective view, as well as ſmoothing the way to a further and more full diſcloſure, would not only fix the actors and perſons concerned in thoſe ſcenes with the charges of public waſte and profuſion, but with corruption and malverſation in office. The report was then ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. *David Hartley*. I propoſe, with your permiſſion, this day, to offer the following motion to the Houſe: "That an humble addreſs be preſented to his Majeſty, to intreat his Majeſty, that he will be graciouſly pleaſed not to prorogue the Parliament, but that he will ſuffer them to continue ſitting for the purpoſe of aſſiſting and forwarding the meaſures already taken for the reſtoration of peace in America; and that they may be in readineſs, in the preſent critical ſituation and proſpect of public affairs, to provide for every important event at the earlieſt notice." This motion was originally a part, and intended to have been ſubjoined at the concluſion of the motion which I offered yeſterday to the Houſe; but as this propoſition was independent of the other, I was induced to ſeparate them, to accommodate myſelf to the ſentiments of ſome honourable gentlemen who were willing to give their aſſent to the declaratory addreſs, which I had the honour of propoſing to you yeſterday, but not to the propoſition of keeping the parliament any longer ſitting. The perſon to

whom I more particularly allude, is the noble Lord at the head of the treaſury, to whom I beg leave to return my beſt thanks for his ſupport of my motion yeſterday, though it was ineffectual. There is no obligation that I could feel more ſenſibly, becauſe there is nothing that I have ſo much at heart as cultivating and improving every poſſible opportunity of reſtoring peace between this country and America. I am very confident, that the day will ſoon come, when the Houſe will regret having been ſo touchy upon every propoſition that has but the ſhadow of American independence. It is want of prudence in the extreme to become more and more attached to impoſſibilities, in proportion as they become more evidently ſo. The Americans, you all know, are in fact independent. If you regret that independence, you have your miniſters alone to thank for that event. By their advice and perſuaſion his Majeſty and this Houſe have turned a deaf ear to all the petitions and applications from America for redreſs of grievances. But you would at that time offer no other terms than unconditional ſubmiſſion, the only alternative to which is independence. Your force is now, in all effect, defeated in America. One army entire is taken priſoners. The force which remains is ſo far from being adequate to the conqueſt of America, that, I fear, it will find great difficulty even to defend itſelf. The miniſters of this country firſt introduced foreign forces into the conteſt. The Americans have now in their turn called in a foreign power to their aid. We know that a French fleet of twelve or fourteen ſhips of the line (and, as report ſays, with 3000 land forces on board) has ſailed theſe ſix weeks from Toulon to their aſſiſtance. Then ſee what a ſituation your remaining army will ſoon be in. The whole force of America augmenting and triumphant, againſt a brave, but diminiſhed and deſerted army, for the miniſtry have taken no care to ſend them ſufficient ſuccours. Theſe are the events which are coming upon you without delay. Let me then aſk, whether this be the time to be prorogued for ſummer amuſements; or rather ought we not, at ſuch a moment, to redouble our anxiety and attention, to provide *ne quid detrementi capiat res publica.*

Another argument that I would offer to you againſt a prorogation is, that we may be found watchful upon our poſt, as the guardians of this country, to be in readineſs to receive, at the earlieſt moment, the report from the commiſſioners, who are gone to offer a treaty to America. We may ſoon expect ſome return from that commiſſion. Whatever be the

anſwer

anſwer to our offers, let us at leaſt be found upon our ſtation to receive it, and to take the neceſſary meaſures in conſequence. I think we may be but too well aſſured what that anſwer will be. Can it be believed that a nation who renounced the government of this country, and aſſerted their independence even as a challenge to you two years ago, when you made the great and formidable attack upon them, being then without allies; can it, I ſay, be conceived that the ſame people, having now ſucceſsfully aſſerted that independence, and being triumphantly in poſſeſſion of it, with foreign alliances for their farther ſupport, now that your force is but little better than totally defeated, ſhould for no reaſon, and from no neceſſity, relinquiſh that ſituation of independence which you cannot wreſt from them? It is an impoſſible expectation. The declaration of independence has not only paſſed in Congreſs, but every province has adopted the new government of independence; and almoſt every individual upon the continent has taken the oath of allegiance to their reſpective new governments. Beſides theſe proofs, which I think can hardly be called preſumptive proofs, becauſe they amount to a certainty, we have, however recent and poſitive proofs which lately arrived from America. I mean the reſolution of the Congreſs of the 22d of November, 1777, which runs to this effect: "Reſolved, "That all propoſals for a treaty between the King of Great "Britain, or any of his commiſſioners, and the united ſtates "of America, inconſiſtent with the independence of the "ſaid ſtates, or with ſuch treaties or alliances as may be "formed under their authority, will be rejected by Con-"greſs." Theſe are the conſiderations which induced me to offer you the motion which I did yeſterday. I am confident that you have ſent your commiſſioners upon a needleſs errand, and that they will return with a refuſal; for which reaſon, if I could have had any influence with the Houſe, I would have recommended to them, as a preparation for ſuch an event, to have come to a declaration, that, preferring peace above every other conſideration, they would have been ready to co-operate with his Majeſty in any farther conciliatory meaſures, which might be neceſſary to give efficacy to their pacific intentions. Unfortunately, as I think, that motion was over-ruled, as, I fear, the motion of this day will likewiſe be.

If any man were to put the queſtion to me, what ſhould we do in the preſent circumſtances of our affairs? if my

motion of this day were to be complied with, I confeſs to you, Sir, I ſhould be put to a great difficulty to give him an anſwer. But this is an additional reaſon for taking the wiſe and prudent advice that Parliament upon conſultation might afford. The point of independence is over; do not deceive yourſelves upon that ſubject. Can you break the alliance between France and America? Certainly not. America will be faithful to her alliances. Remember at the ſame time, that it is the miniſtry of this country which has driven them into thoſe alliances. Theſe points are fixed; I know they are. I have had ſome means of information authentic upon theſe ſubjects, that I am confident I am not deceived. If, as a private perſon, I might give an opinion, I would endeavour to obtain your conſent to the following terms, as the baſis of a negotiation. I have the ſtrongeſt reaſons to know that this country will never get better terms of treaty. I have explained the reaſons of my conviction to his Majeſty's miniſters, and have laid before them the following heads of negotiation, as the reſult of the beſt opinion and expectation that, in my opinion, the caſe preſents.

That America be declared independent.

That Great Britain and America ſhall agree mutually not to enter into any treaty offenſive to each other.

That an open and free trade ſhall be eſtabliſhed between Great Britain and America.

That a mutual naturalization ſhall be eſtabliſhed between Great Britain and America.

That commiſſioners be appointed on each part, to negotiate a fœderal alliance between Great Britain and North America.

Sir *George Savile* ſeconded the motion. No perſon offering to anſwer, the Speaker was proceeding to put the queſtion. General Burgoyne applied to the treaſury-bench, to know whether the King's ſervants meant to agree to the motion? In which caſe, he ſaid, he ſhould give the Houſe no trouble: that otherwiſe he thought himſelf pledged to deliver his ſentiments. The call was, "Go on;" and General *Burgoyne* proceeded in ſubſtance as follows:

I ſhall not purſue the argument of the honourable gentleman, upon the expediency of parliament being ready ſitting to deliberate upon the firſt intelligence that may arrive from your commiſſioners; that argument has already been too ably enforced to require a ſecond: neither, Sir, after ſo long an indulgence as I received in a former debate, ſhall I again preſs upon the attention of the Houſe the debt they owe to national

national juſtice and policy, upon the ſubject of inquiry: though the Generals Howe and Carleton may be expected every day; and it was upon their abſence alone, that the greater part of the Houſe ſeemed diſpoſed to poſtpone ſo important and neceſſary a duty. But, Sir, I ſhall reſt ſolely upon a view of the preſent ſtate of this country, as univerſally compulſive upon the underſtanding, in favour of the meaſure propoſed. While an enemy is prepared upon the neighbouring coaſt, and perhaps is at this hour embarking, diffidence, deſpondency, and conſternation, are evident among great part of the people. A more fatal ſymptom prevails among a greater part; a torpid indifference to our impending fate. Men dare not, or will not, look into their deſperate circumſtances. God grant that general panic be not the reſult of all theſe demonſtrations! for panic is incident, upon ſome occaſions, to thoſe who have been moſt diſtinguiſhed for bravery upon others.

The ſalvation of the country depends upon the confidence of the people in ſome part of the government. The miniſtry have it not; the whole nation ſee, or think they ſee, their inſufficiency. I mean not to apply theſe words groſsly or virulently; there are among them many to whoſe perſonal qualities and talents I bear reſpect, and to none more than the noble Lord in the blue ribband. But talents are relative to times; and it is no reproach to ſay, that men, well qualified for negotiation, finance, or the ſmooth current of government, may be totally unfit for their ſtations, when the criſis requires inſtant reſource, deciſive counſel, animating action. That theſe are notoriouſly wanting, the beſt friends of the miniſters ſhake their heads and confeſs. Is there a man of common ſenſe and common ſpirit in the country, that does not ſtand confounded and aghaſt at the late ſupineneſs? that does not think the heralds ought to have accompanied your coach, Sir, when you carried up the addreſs of the Commons; and that the declaration of war at St. James's gate ſhould have accompanied the anſwer from the throne? "Be patient," we are told; "France may repent; Spain yet ſpeaks us fair."—Sir, to be patient in our ſituation is to be abject: our puſillanimity gives tenfold encreaſe to our natural weakneſs. Patience in private life, under affliction or diſeaſe, the ſtrokes of fortune, or the hand of Heaven, is a virtue of lovely hue; but political enduring—tamely to ſuffer provocation and injury,—the moſt wanton inſult that ever was offered to a nation,—I mean the meſſage of the French ambaſſador:

—Turn

——————Turn thy complexion there,
Patience, thou young and roſe-lipp'd cherubin,
And there look grim as hell.——

It will be difficult to thoſe who are moſt converſant in hiſtory, and accurate in obſervation, to point out examples, where, after an alarm, the ſpirits of men have revived by inaction. This nation is put into the ſtate of a garriſon, whoſe out-poſts are abandoned, whoſe ſallies are ſtopt, and who are to combat in the body of the place for their laſt ſtake. I do not ſay, that men have not fought deſperately in ſuch ſituations; but then they have been brought to extremity by a progreſſion of conflicts, and have ſeen great examples to raiſe and ſtimulate their public paſſions. I know of no great exertions, where the governing councils have ſhewn apprehenſion and terror, and conſequent confuſion at the outſet. The ſucceſs of vigorous meaſures to reſtore an army after a panic is almoſt invariable; ancient hiſtory abounds with examples; in our own time they are frequent. When General Romanzoff found the Ruſſians impreſſed with apprehenſions of the Turkiſh cavalry, his firſt meaſure was to lay aſide the uſe of chevaux de frize, and encamp without entrenchments. The revival of the general ſpirit of a ſtate depends upon the ſame principles. We need not look abroad for examples; we have a more ſtriking one at home than foreign annals can produce, in that immortal year, 1756, the commencement of the Earl of Chatham's adminiſtration. The moſt glorious tribute we can pay to his memory, is to follow his example. Let miniſters viſit his remains, while yet above ground, and catch wiſdom, and vigour, and virtue from the view. Did he keep fleets at Spithead to prevent invaſion? Did he fear to truſt the internal defence of the nation to her own ſons? No, Sir, your navy was employed in offenſive operations in every quarter of the globe; and the nation, ſupported by a juſt confidence, were ten times ſtronger after the diſmiſſion of the Hanoverians and Heſſians than before. Every ſhip became a fleet, every regiment felt itſelf an hoſt.

We have now a brave Admiral riding at Spithead, who knows the way to prevent invaſion by ſeeking the enemy at a diſtance. His ſhare of glory in the defeat of Conflans is on the minds of his followers; you cannot gratify him or them more than to give them a ſecond occaſion, and, by the ſame means, to ſave their country. The brother of that admiral, a member of this Houſe, [General Keppel,] bred alſo in the beſt ſchools of his profeſſion, is ſecond in command on ſhore, and ſecond to one who needs no other praiſe than that he was the

the favourite, [Lord Amherſt,] and the friend, and the confidential executor of the arduous plans of the great ſtateſman I alluded to.—Let theſe men be aſſiſted with national ſpirit, and England is not to be ſubdued, while a river or a hill remains; without ſuch ſpirit, another battle of Haſtings may make another conqueſt.

Sir, I repeat that the beſt hope of generating and diffuſing this genuine ſtrength of the mind, to which arms and treaſure are but inadequate ſubſtitutes, depends upon the preſence of Parliament, "to provide (according to the words of the motion) for every important event at the earlieſt notice;"—to ſtrengthen the crown, not by adulatory addreſſes, but by ſuch occaſional ſanctions, as would give freſh and extra energy to its power, pending the emergency that might require it; to ſupport public credit, in union with the city of London, not only by common engagements of faith, but by acts of quick and encouraging efficacy towards individuals, who might nobly riſk their all in the cauſe; but above all, in full numbers and by general continuance, to exhibit themſelves to the world a true repreſentative of a determined people attacked in their vitals;—to prove that they are not to be ſeduced from their duty by the allurements of pleaſure or perſonal intereſt, but have fortitude to await the approach of the enemy, as the Gauls were awaited by the ſenators in Rome; and, if need were, to receive death in theſe ſeats, to give example and fire to their ſurviving countrymen. Sir, a Parliament, thus inſpired, (the occaſion, I believe in my conſcience, would give the inſpiration,) would ſpread immediate and extenſive veneration and influence.—Faction in this great city, if faction there is, would be no more;—majorities and minorities here would be loſt in unanimity for the public ſafety;—the King's name, thus ſupported, would be in truth a tower of ſtrength; and the daring attempts of the enemy would only tend to the preſent glory and future ſtability of the ſtate.

Sir, theſe are my ſincere ſentiments; and for this free delivery of them, I doubt not that I ſhall read in the morning papers of to-morrow that I have thrown myſelf into the arms of oppoſition. I am conſcious I never did ſo true a ſervice to the King and to the country as I do in the part I now take; and whatever may be the idle comments of the day, I truſt that with the reſpectable part of the public, if the term *oppoſition* is to imply blame, it will be applicable only to the rejection of this motion. If the King's miniſters take the lead, and exerciſe their perſuaſion for that purpoſe, I hold them to be the oppoſers of national ſpirit, oppoſers of public vir-

virtue, oppoſers of the moſt efficacious means to ſave their country. Sir, I ſcorn to take up this language upon ſo pitiful a motive as perſonal reſentment. Government, whoever are the miniſters to conduct it, ſhall have my voice when my conſcience directs it. That I think myſelf a perſecuted man, I avow; that I am a marked victim to bear the ſins that do not belong to me, I apprehend; but this is not the firſt time I have ſtood the frowns of power for parliamentry conduct; and whatever farther vengeance may be in ſtore for me, I hope I ſhall endure it as becomes me. I am aware that in far better times officers have been ſtript of their preferments for reſiſting the poſſeſſors of that bench.—They cannot take from me an humble competence; they cannot deprive me of a qualification to ſit here; they cannot ſtrip me, I truſt they cannot, of the confidence of my conſtituents to ſeat me here; they cannot ſtrip me—I am ſure they cannot—of principle and ſpirit to do my duty here.

I never was more excited by theſe motives, and I never can be more, than upon the preſent occaſion, to give my vote in ſupport of the motion.

Mr. *Rigby* ridiculed the extraordinary mode, as he called it, of reaſoning adopted by the laſt ſpeaker, that every man who oppoſes the preſent motion, or his particular opinions, was an enemy to public virtue. He begged leave to differ from the honourable gentleman, for he always underſtood that free debate and liberty of free judgment were the very eſſence of that Houſe.

The only argument, he ſaid, uſed by the honourable gentleman who made the motion, for preferring an adjournment to a prorogation was, that Parliament might be ſitting, and ready to aſſiſt with their counſels, when an account might be ſuppoſed to arrive from our American commiſſioners. If this was all the honourable gentleman meant to take by his motion, it was in fact already complied with; there was a law in being, by which the Crown was enabled to call the Parliament, in caſe of actual invaſion or rebellion. It was acknowledged, and had not yet been contradicted, that a rebellion is exiſting; conſequently, though terms of conciliation or actual refuſal on the part of America ſhould be received; and that, in conſequence of ſuch intelligence, the convening of Parliament ſhould become requiſite, his Majeſty would have it in his power to call it together within the time ſtated, which, he believed, on all hands, would be confeſſed to be ſufficiently early to provide almoſt againſt every poſſible exigency. The adjournment was only matter of form. The Speaker, it is true,

true, and the officers of the Houſe, would be obliged to attend at certain ſtated periods; but he was certain it would be only to meet in order to adjourn; for he would not be able to procure a regular attendance, or indeed any attendance.

He then proceeded to perſonalities againſt the honourable gentleman who ſpoke laſt. He ſaid he was a priſoner and had no right as ſuch to ſpeak, much leſs to vote, in that Houſe. He expreſſed a wiſh to be tried. The honourable gentleman knew, when he deſired a trial, that he could not be tried; he was upon parole; he was as a priſoner under that parole, not at liberty to do any one act in his perſonal capacity. Suppoſe, for inſtance, the honourable gentleman ſhould be tried and found guilty, who could puniſh him? No one certainly. A priſoner is always bound to his firſt engagement, and amenable to the ſtipulations of thoſe who have preſcribed the terms. To talk, therefore, of trial, without the power to puniſh, was a farce; the power to try, implied the power to puniſh; or ſuch a power meant nothing.

Take the matter in another point of view; the affair of Saratoga has been already inquired into and decided upon. He denied both thoſe aſſertions. Whatever ſteps had been already taken in the buſineſs, implied neither condemnation nor acquittal. He wiſhed to be underſtood, that there was a fault ſomewhere; and he would never allow, though there was a majority of nearly four to one, 144 to 44, that what the Houſe determined on that occaſion, was either an acquittal or condemnation of thoſe who planned, or thoſe who executed; he was ſatisfied it was not. A Britiſh army was loſt, the blame muſt reſt ſomewhere; the preſent was not a proper time to inquire, becauſe all the parties could not be preſent, and becauſe at no time was that Houſe competent to ſuch an inquiry. It muſt be ſent to a military tribunal, where the honourable gentleman would be tried by his peers. When that event took place, if the honourable gentleman ſhould be honourably acquitted, then it might become a proper ſubject of parliamentary inquiry. Till, therefore, the arrival of all the parties concerned, and the diſcharge of the honourable gentleman from his preſent engagement, ſhould take place, and in conſequence of that he ſhould be acquitted, the meaſures which were committed to his charge could never become a matter of ſtate, or be agitated in that Houſe.

Right Hon. *T. Townſhend* condemned the mode of proceeding recommended by the laſt ſpeaker, as deſtitute of ſpirit.

He

He diſapproved of all examination into private characters. He was ſevere on what he called the illiberality of the honourable gentleman to the unfortunate General, who was labouring for the deareſt thing a ſoldier can poſſeſs, his reputation.

Mr. *Wedderburne* ſaid, the motion was unneceſſary, as, by law, during the American rebellion, the King could call the Parliament in fourteen days, notwithſtanding a prorogation; which creates a new ſeſſion, in which even recent acts may be repealed. He then took occaſion to propound doubts relative to General Burgoyne's capacity to vote in Parliament; and he argued them, at length, with viſible preparation and much learning. He referred, very particularly, to the ſtory of Regulus; and, to make the caſes parallel, ſtated the General as a common priſoner of war (the convention of Saratoga being broke); that, conſequently, he was not *ſui juris*, but the preſent property of another power. He inſiſted, with ſtill leſs expreſſion of doubt, that the General, under his preſent obligations, was incapacitated from exerciſing any office, or bearing arms in this country.

General *Burgoyne*, in reply, ſtated the miſtake upon which Mr. Wedderburne's argument was in a great meaſure founded, viz. that the convention was broken, and that the General was under the uſual reſtrictions of a priſoner of war. The convention was declared by the Congreſs not intended to be broken, on their part, though the execution of it was ſuſpended. The General therefore inſiſted, that he was under no other obligation, than that ſpecified in the convention, "not to ſerve in America;" and that of his parole, "to return at the demand of the Congreſs, and due notice given:" that in this country he was free to exerciſe his rights as a citizen and a ſoldier; that, ſhould the enemy land, though the preſent diſfavour might preclude him from the command which his rank, and ſome experience, might entitle him to, he truſted the King would not refuſe his requeſt to take a muſquet in defence of his country. He proceeded to argue, that even upon the ſuppoſition that Mr. Wedderburne's poſition had been true in its full extent, and that he had been, directly, a priſoner of war under parole, he ſhould not have been incapacitated from acting in Parliament; and in anſwer to the precedents brought from remote ages, he produced one of a preſent member [Lord Frederick Cavendiſh], who, when a priſoner in France, after the action of St. Cas, and upon his parole in England, ſat and voted in Parliament. That noble

noble Lord, upon quitting France, had aſked, whether any reſtraint in that reſpect was meant? as he ſhould certainly vote for every meaſure that could diſtreſs the enemy.—He was told, that they ſhould as ſoon think of reſtraining him from getting a child, leſt, when it came to maturity, it ſhould do them miſchief.

The General proceeded to obſerve, that the caſes, in point of explanation, were preciſely the ſame; for that, before he left the army, it had been intimated to him, that there were perſons in Boſton, who doubted whether he ſhould not be reſtrained by parole from taking any part in Parliament, at leaſt, when America was concerned; that he came to an explanation with thoſe entruſted with the ſentiments and powers of the Congreſs; and declared, that if ſuch reſtraint was intended, he would remain and die in that country, rather than return home.—The idea was aboliſhed; nay, more, it was expreſſed, that the friends of the Congreſs conceived rather advantage than injury from the General's preſence in Parliament; that they wiſhed for peace upon proper terms; that they were perſuaded, the General, as a man of humanity, wiſhed the ſame; that they believed he had honour to ſpeak truth, and that truth would conduce to that deſirable end.

Sir *H. Houghton* thought the buſineſs ſhould be ſuſpended until the difficulty reſpecting the General ſhould be ſettled.

The *Speaker* ſaid, it was not a matter of doubt. The learned gentleman had argued upon a ſuppoſition, that the honourable gentleman had not received ſo extenſive a permiſſion as he ſtanding in his place had affirmed he poſſeſſed. As this aſſertion could not be diſputed, there could not be a doubt of the honourable gentleman's right to his ſeat.

After this explanation, Mr. Wedderburne acknowledged no doubts remained upon the General's rights; and the Houſe were unanimous in the ſame opinion.

Mr. *Fox* ſaid, that though he hoped the prejudice inſpired by the dream of the learned member, for it turned out to be no more, on the minds of the Houſe, yet he thought it neceſſary to ſay this much more: that the leave granted to the honourable gentleman, to do his duty in Parliament, was not contained in the permiſſion for his return and abſence, but ſtood within the knowledge of the Houſe, merely on the teſtimony of his own information. Having ſaid this, and believing that no farther argument was neceſſary on ſo ridiculous a ſubject, he begged leave to ſay a few words to the queſtion.

He

He confeſſed he ſaw the greateſt reaſon in the world for adopting the meaſure of the addreſs, and not one reaſon had been urged againſt it. Remembering how fatal the laſt long receſs had been, he could not conceive how any man, in the leaſt intereſted in the welfare of his country, could think of truſting again to the management of the miniſtry. On the very inſtant, when the Houſe were about to think of a conciliatory plan, it was adjourned for more than ſix weeks [the Chriſtmas receſs], and, in that fatal time, what was the conduct of the miniſtry? Though they knew that they were about to yield up every thing they had before denied, and by the intimation of which, in due time, they might have prevented the effects that have enſued, yet they never made the leaſt intimation, but gave time for France to conclude a treaty, by which every hope of bringing America back to dependency is forfeited for ever. They filled up that ſpace in levying armies, without the knowledge or controul of Parliament, and for that reaſon we muſt truſt them again, as fully and implicitly as we ſhould the majority of Parliament. Ready on all occaſions as that majority was to obey the will of the miniſter—inattentive and negligent as ſome, and dependent as the moſt of them were, yet ſtill he preferred their votes and meaſures to thoſe of the adminiſtration. An honourable gentleman had ſaid, that they were carrying on war at this very time, to the beſt of their underſtandings, againſt France and Spain. Looking back upon their conduct, he found equal reaſon for being diſpleaſed with their underſtandings here too. What ſtroke had they ſtruck? or what active enterprize had they executed? They had moved an addreſs to the throne, and they had recalled their ambaſſador; this was the extent of what their underſtandings had produced. In more than two months they had been able to execute theſe mighty objects, and their underſtandings deſerved credit for the happineſs of the contrivance, as well as the accompliſhment of theſe two things. It was ſaid, by a learned gentleman, that his Majeſty had it in his power to convene Parliament in fourteen days; ſo he has after adjournment; and it is better to truſt to adjournment, in this caſe, which will certainly convene us, than to prorogation, which may not do ſo. Aye, but, ſays the learned gentleman, by a prorogation we ſhall have a new ſeſſion, and then we may repeal the acts of the preſent; "then, ſays he, it may be fairly concluded, that we are to repeal the acts of the preſent ſeſſion." That learned gentleman is the key to the cabinet; he

he knows the ſecrets of ſtate, and he ſays we muſt, in the next ſeſſion, probably repeal every thing we have done in this; he knows that the propoſitions of peace will not be accepted; he is not ſanguine enough to flatter himſelf that they will; he knows that the plan is inadequate; the conceſſions, however humiliating, not ſufficient; we have brought ourſelves ſo low, that kneeling before them, with conceſſion in our hands, cannot procure us the peace we pant for, and we muſt repeal before we ſucceed. I agree with the learned gentleman, that the plan we have propoſed is inadequate; but if in the preſent ſeſſion we cannot repeal, we may vary; and as we do not mean to reſtrain the Americans in any degree, the variation that may be neceſſary will be in our power. The ſituation of his honourable friend was an incentive towards continuing the ſeſſion of the moſt powerful nature. He was unfortunate—ſingularly unfortunate; and it was the buſineſs of the Houſe, to inquire into the cauſes of his misfortune, and charge them on the true author, whoever he might be. It was to his honourable friend a matter of conſolation, though he knew him too well to ſuſpect that he preferred private conſolation to the good of his country; yet, he ſaid, it might conſole him to think, that he was not the only unfortunate man who had ſerved the preſent adminiſtration. It was the fortune of every man who had ſerved them to be unfortunate. Every officer in America was an inſtance of the fact. General Gage had not reaped any laurels in their ſervice, nor had Admiral Graves any reaſon to rejoice at his ſucceſs. Sir William Howe had not eſcaped the misfortunes that overtook their ſervants; though crowned with repeated conqueſts, he had loſt by his ſucceſs. Lord Howe's character could not be much hurt by their inſinuations, rancourous as they have been; but he has gained no additional honour from his exploits in their ſervice. The manner in which the other gallant officer, Sir Guy Carleton, had been treated, needed no comment; it was upon record, and would ſtand an example in future, for the inſtruction of men who might be hazardous enough to attempt to ſerve their country beneath the auſpices of men who are obliged to cover their ignorance and inability, and ſcreen themſelves from ignominy and contempt, by throwing blame upon the men who were unwiſe enough to act as they were inſtructed. The concealment of intelligence delivered to them, under any form, was criminal to the higheſt degree, when the character of a ſoldier depends upon the diſcovery. He knew not

how to ſpeak of their conduct and preſerve his temper. He wondered how the people could hear of it and withhold their reſentment. He could not avoid adverting to a circumſtance, which he confeſſed was new to him. It was a ſubject of praiſe to a noble Lord, whoſe ingenuity he ſeldom had cauſe to applaud; juſt, however, to merit in every inſtance, he could not be blind to it in this; where invention was ſo rare, it was politic to cheriſh the firſt appearance of it. A timely attention might promote its growth, as good huſbandry, and careful cultivation, made even a barren ſoil fruitful. The noble Lord in the blue ribbon had moſt ingeniouſly created a new ſpecies of oratory, and that of ſo divine and ſpecific a nature, that it would ſerve every occaſion, and refute every argument:—"When we attempt, ſays the honourable gentleman, to charge to that noble Lord's negligence, or inability, the loſs of America, and thereby the deſtruction of national grandeur, national intereſt, and national credit, he replies, in his new-invented language, Well, you may ſay this, and ſay that; but I do ſay again and again, I did not loſe America." This reply is irrefutable; what can be urged againſt it? We muſt alter our accuſation, and, inſtead of throwing it on the noble Lord, condemn General Waſhington, as the only cauſe of our having loſt America. His ſuperior abilities had fruſtrated every effort; we did all that men could do, but he, like the arm of Heaven, overthrew our ſtrength, and made us yield to his ſuperiority. Arguing in like manner, we ought to ſay, it was not owing to the head or the heart of King James, that he loſt the crown of Britain, but to the wickedneſs of the times. He did all that men could do, but his enemies were the more powerful, and he was forced to ſubmit. In the ſame manner, if the fleet that ſailed ſix weeks ago from the port of Toulon, had attacked and taken the moſt valuable territory of the empire, deſtroyed the fleet, and made captive the army in America, we muſt not condemn the miniſtry as the cauſe of our misfortunes, they could not avoid it; they did all that men could do, but the winds of Heaven were againſt them, and the winds of Heaven were alone the deſtroyers we ought to condemn. It has been repeatedly urged by the noble Lord, that it is not poſſible for adminiſtration to defend all our extended empire from the encroachments of the enemy. True: but is there any one part of the empire at this moment defended, except Portſmouth? Have the miniſtry put their own defenſive plan

in

in execution. Ridiculous and inadequate in our ſituation as a defenſive plan is, have they even begun upon that? Nature has aſſiſted them moſt materially in this taſk. The Gut of Gibraltar is a kind of general protection for our Mediterranean dominions; a fleet ſtationed there, prevents thoſe of your enemies from ſailing—and yet, ſo blind and indifferent have they been, that no fleet is ſtationed there for that purpoſe. We cannot, as the noble Lord ſays, number ſhips with France and Spain. This ſuperiority is multiplied by our acquieſcence. It is not the greater number of ſhips that a ſtate actually poſſeſſes, but the number employed in action that conſtitutes ſuperiority. If France has twelve line of battle ſhips at ſea, while we have forty-two in port, ſhe is ſuperior. Inſtead of defending, let us attack. One great ſtroke of policy muſt now be attempted, as one great, ſudden, unexpected ſtroke can alone, in our preſent ſituation, ſave us. Such a one as that which determined the fate of the laſt war, and ſuch a one as might now be effected. Need he ſay that the Spaniſh flota would be an iſſue to the conflict. To effect ſuch an object, the hands of government muſt be ſtrengthened, great, prodigious ſupplies muſt be granted, the nerves of war muſt be ſtrained to their extent, and, for that purpoſe, we muſt continue to ſit. Money will be wanted in the courſe of the ſummer, and it will be neceſſary for the Houſe of Commons to find it ſomewhere. Bad and deplorable as our ſituation is, it is not deſperate. Britain cannot deſpair, if her miniſters are as able to plan as ſhe is to execute.

Lord *North* anſwered particularly to almoſt every argument of the oppoſite party. General Burgoyne had not reaſon to ſay he was a perſecuted man. That aſſertion he could not ſit and hear, without, at the ſame time, feeling the injuſtice of it. It had been the care of adminiſtration to cheriſh his merit; they ſaw it in its growth, and reward kept pace with its progreſs. If to be raiſed above his elder officers in the ſervice, was perſecution, he did not wonder, conſidering how much he had been perſecuted, that he wiſhed for more. He did not at all interfere with his political opinions. He might throw himſelf into the arms of oppoſition, without thereby recommending himſelf a bit the more. He did not look for merit to any particular part of the Houſe: General Burgoyne had a ſuperior claim to moſt others, wherever he ſat. He begged the honourable gentleman who ſpoke before him, not to level his ſatire at the majorities of the Houſes of Parliament—they were reſpectable, unbiaſſed, and confident in their conduct; he paid the utmoſt deference to them, but, in

the proper time, he truly thought that Parliament might trust to them to the minute. It was their interest to convene them, in case of advice from the commissioners—in case of mediation—in case of emergencies that might require further supplies. It was their interest, and Parliament might trust them as safely to be with as much confidence as they would themselves. The honourable gentleman had said, we were now put in a different situation—the assertion did him honour. It was a proof of his superior understanding—it was true. The honourable gentleman had echoed an assertion he had often made—"That he had not been the cause of losing America." He confessed he had frequently said so, and he was ready to submit his conduct to parliamentary inquiry. It might be, as the honourable gentleman had said, a new language, and it might be used for the purpose of preventing harsh censures. Was it to be much owing to his inability, negligence, or design, as to the inflammatory conduct of some men, that we had lost America? He had never touched on that point, and he wished to be silent on it. He had, on a former day, given his opinion on the propriety of intercepting the Spanish fleet. It would not be honourable, and therefore it would not be prudent. He agreed with the honourable gentleman that great supplies must be granted and the utmost efforts made, even this summer. He hoped they would be made, and he expected they would be successful.

Mr. Burke could not, he said, have the most distant comparison made between the majorities of Parliament, and the minority, without feeling resentment at the pretended equality. Blind, biassed, and manacled, as the majorities have of late been, still the dignity of the House, and the recollection of what majorities were formerly, induced him to reprehend so unequal a comparison. Majorities have been composed, even in this session, of the independent part of the House. The opinion of the minority, by continuing the same for years together, brought them, by the transition of the contrary opinion, into the largest majority that ever the present administration were blest with. Minorities have become majorities, by the absurdity, in the first instance, and inflexibility, in the second, of the ministry. He could not avoid reverting to the dream of the learned gentleman, nor enough wonder, reflecting on his amazing sagacity, that he should have been reduced to the incapacity of quoting examples from the records of barbarity. The conduct of war, in the days of Rome, is, indeed, a very proper line for ours. It would have been the misfortune of that learned

gentleman,

gentleman, if he had been made a priſoner in thoſe days, to have been ſet up to public ſale, with his doubts, and his ribbons about his neck, and been ſold for a ſlave. He was happy that his dream was ſo ſoon, and ſo eaſily read, and that, like all dreams, it had been born in the weakneſs of the brain, and had ended in nothing. He begged leave to ſay, to an expreſſion, that had fallen from an honourable gentleman, and anſwered to by the noble Lord, ſomething in favour of oppoſition. It was not his wiſh, that any gentleman ſhould join with oppoſition, before he had well conſidered the principles he entertained, and the conduct of the party he was about to join. To young members he invariably ſaid, that he would rather wiſh them to join adminiſtration, than to adhere to oppoſition, before their minds are made up. It was ſo much more ſhameful to change from oppoſition to adminiſtration, than from the latter to the former, that he begged them to be cautious and conſiderate in their choice. If the honourable gentleman did mean to join with the part of the Houſe to which he adhered, he would only ſay, that he would join with a ſet of men, as wiſe, as diſintereſted, and as worthy as ever exiſted, engaged in the greateſt and the beſt of cauſes. He begged to ſay to the noble Lord, who denied himſelf to be the cauſe of American defalcation, that if he would not confeſs that he had, through wilful blindneſs, loſt that continent, he muſt be forced to acknowledge that he had been the dupe of intereſted individuals. He had been miſinformed, miſadviſed, and had miſconducted the whole affair. He had not intended, perhaps, to loſe, but he had loſt America.

Mr. *Turner* informed the Houſe, that there were veſſels in the Bay of Dunkirk, ready to ſail, at an hour's warning, fit to carry 30,000 men. Marſhal Broglio was on the coaſt—30,000 men were in readineſs, and an invaſion was undoubtedly the deſign. Was it not therefore a conſideration of the moſt material weight, for the Houſe to provide againſt that danger, by ſitting, and deliberating, from day to day.

The queſtion was called for and put; the Houſe divided for the motion 53, againſt it 105. Adjourned to June 2.

June 2.

Sir *James Lowther* got up, and begged leave to wave the motion which he had pledged himſelf to the Houſe to make reſpecting a dower for the Ducheſs of Cumberland; declining it for the preſent, becauſe of his Majeſty's having taken into conſideration the caſe of the Ducheſs of Glouceſter; he therefore concluded he would now make a ſimilar proviſion for the other branch of the Royal Family.—After this, Sir

James reviewed the Iriſh and Roman Catholic bills, and hoped the two nobles who patronized the former, and the honourable gentleman who brought in the latter, would declare what length they meant to go in their future bills which they intended to bring in the next ſeſſion on the ſame grounds, that they might not be hurried through in a ſimilar manner to the laſt, but that Parliament might know what they were doing. He likewiſe ſaid ſomething about the Diſſenters objections to the Catholic bills.

Earl *Nugent* openly declared it was his intention, early in the next ſeſſion, to move for the Iriſh import bill; and for this plain reaſon, becauſe the export bill, without it, would avail them nothing. Ireland could not afford to give long credit, which however ſhe muſt be neceſſitated to do, unleſs in her commerce with our plantations ſhe was permitted to barter for, and import their commodities. Contending at the ſame time, that their preſent national neceſſities demanded this indulgence of the Engliſh Parliament.

Sir *George Yonge* ſaid, he ſhould oppoſe the bill, becauſe the preſent neceſſities of Ireland were created by her voting ſums of money to government which they were unable to pay.

Lord *Newhaven* ſaid, he ſhould move early in the next ſeſſion for the import bill to be brought in, not even excepting ſugars, though he found the noble Lord was inclined to give it up.

Mr. *Gilbert* ſaid, he ſhould propoſe an inquiry into the trade of both countries, before he voted for any more commercial bills at all.

Sir *George Savile* now roſe to explain himſelf reſpecting the Roman Catholic bill, and aſſured the Houſe, the Diſſenters were very anxious for the Catholics to enjoy the fulleſt privileges with the reſt of his Majeſty's ſubjects.

Sir *James Lowther* now moved for an addreſs to his Majeſty, imploring him moſt "graciouſly to continue his Parliament ſitting by adjournments, till a happy termination might be put to the preſent public exigencies." He ſupported thit motion principally on the impoſſibility of ſelecting the members from the remote parts of the kingdom in time, ſhould his Majeſty find it neceſſary to call them together, in conſequence of the right veſted in him to convene his Parliament within fourteen days.

Sir *Philip Jennings Clerke* ſeconded the motion, on the general ground of neceſſity; ſaid, the nation was in imminent danger,

danger, for that he had been informed, ſince he came into the Houſe, that the Breſt fleet had been ſeen within a few leagues of Plymouth; he ſaid, he was more particularly for the motion from the old adage, that "in the multitude of counſellors there was ſafety."

Earl *Nugent* ſaid, he fancied, that if even the motion was carried, the laſt ſpeaker would be diſappointed in his hopes, as he believed very few counſellors would remain in town. [Here a ſlight altercation took place between his Lordſhip and the Speaker about order.]

Mr *T. Luttrell* approved of the motion upon the ſame grounds with the former ſpeakers; adding, there was a vaſt deal of buſineſs that he knew required the attention of Parliament at this criſis. Said, he had a motion to make relative to the manning of the navy, of which he had long given previous notice to the Houſe. He roundly aſſerted, that though the ſeamen voted by Parliament were 60,000, yet the utmoſt the admiralty had ever muſtered was in September laſt, when the number was 51,000.

Mr. *Penton*, one of the Lords of the admiralty, got up, and ſaid, it was a very eaſy matter to make ſuch aſſertions as he had juſt heard, but not quite ſo eaſy to prove them; which he would demonſtrate from the official paper then in his hand; for, notwithſtanding the honourable gentleman had advanced, that there were never more than 51,000 ſeamen, he would as roundly aſſert, and prove alſo, that there were borne on the books the 31ſt of December laſt, as proved at the navy board, and which could admit of no impoſition whatever, that 59,869 ſeamen, including marines, which are included in the vote of Parliament above alluded to, were borne, and at the ſame time there were actually muſtered 56,704.

Mr. *T. Luttrell* ſaid, he ſuppoſed theſe accounts were made up in the like manner as thoſe which were laid before the Houſe, reſpecting the ſhips, &c. on the Jamaica ſtation; among which the Niger, and two others that were ſtated, he ſaw himſelf a few days after in Cowes road.

Mr. *Penton* ſaid, that was very probable, for if thoſe veſſels were either going to Jamaica with convoys, or returning from thence on the ſame buſineſs, they were neceſſarily claſſed under the ſhips on the Jamaica ſtation.

Honourable Mr. *Fitzpatrick* ſaid, he fancied he could furniſh the Houſe with an additional reaſon or two for the neceſſity of their continuing to ſit. He was juſt arrived from America; and ſince he found the noble Lord who preſided in that

department did not think proper to lay any of the intelligence before them he had received from Sir William Howe by the ſame ſhip he came over in, he would endeavour to give them all the information in his power. He ſailed the 25th of April; the draft of the conciliatory bill had been received ten days before that; but, inſtead of being publiſhed in the proper way, in order to produce the deſired effect, it was only poſted up, and diſperſed among the lower claſs; no notice whatever of it having been ſent either to the Congreſs or to General Waſhington. The bill was ill received by our own army; they thought themſelves reduced thereby to a very humiliating ſituation: they were promiſed a reinforcement of 20,000 men, inſtead of which they were to receive a French fleet. He ſaid he had had a conference with two or three people high in the confidence of Congreſs, who treated the conciliatory bill with contempt; ſaid, if it had come from Lord Chatham it would have been received, but not from the preſent miniſtry. He cenſured the conduct of government for their treatment of General Burgoyne; and ſuppoſed that Sir William Howe, who was now on his paſſage to England, would meet with a ſimilar reception. He had learnt, ſince his arrival in England, to be aſtoniſhed at nothing; for ſince two men of ſuch oppoſite principles had gone out with the American commiſſion, he ſhould not be ſurpriſed at any thing that might happen; but he thought they ſhould at leaſt have gone out in two ſhips, without they had come to a previous agreement, before they ſailed, not to mention the word America for fear of quarrelling. He concluded his ſpeech by ſaying, the people of Falmouth, where he landed, diſcovered ſuch an anxiety to know how matters went on in America, that he thought from thence this country itſelf was not very remote from a civil tumult.

Lord *George Germaine* replied; ſaid, what the honourable gentlemen had ſpoken as coming within his own knowledge, he had no right to doubt; but he muſt beg leave to undeceive him and the Houſe with reſpect to matters which he advanced from the information of other perſons, becauſe, if ſuch facts exiſted, he muſt have been apprized of them likewiſe, which was not the caſe. As to the reinforcement of 20,000 men, he had never made nor heard of any ſuch promiſe. The general officer had not, as he knew of, been ill treated by any part of adminiſtration, nor did he complain of any thing, except not being admitted into the royal preſence, which was juſtified by precedent. Every thing had been done that the nature

nature of his ſituation would admit of; a board of general officers had been called to inquire into his conduct, who refuſed to take cognizance of it. This, however, did not prevent the general's ſtating his whole conduct to Parliament, which he has been permitted to do in the ampleſt manner. With reſpect to Sir William Howe's diſpatches, which were received but yeſterday, he had hardly time to read them over himſelf before he ſent them to his Majeſty, and therefore he could not have ſtated them to the Houſe if he had thought it neceſſary. In regard to America not receiving the conciliatory bill becauſe it came from the preſent miniſters, if that was the only impediment to peace, it might ſoon be removed, for he would willingly reſign his employment whenever it appeared that his holding it prevented the conciliation ſo much to be wiſhed.

The Houſe divided, for the prorogation 94, againſt it 54.

June 3.

Mr. *Temple Luttrell* recommended it to the admiralty board to ſubſtitute, in the place of impreſſing, the plan of hiring ſeamen for three years, with a bounty on their voluntary entrance. He enforced this advice with many powerful arguments, and proved, as far as reaſon and experience can convince, that it was the only mode, in the preſent ſituation, that can be effectual. Many thouſand able and experienced ſeamen were, at this time, totally loſt to the country by being concealed among their friends. The dread of impreſſing, not the fear of engaging in the ſervice for the war, was the only reaſon that induced them to fly. Remove the ſuſpicion they entertain of being kept for life, and they would repair with cheerfulneſs to the ſhip ſide, and accept the bounty.

The Commons were this day ſent for to the Houſe of Lords, when the King put an end to the ſeſſion by a ſpeech from the throne, which ſee at the end of the Lords debates.

The following Speech was delivered on the 25th of May *in the Houſe of Commons, by the Hon.* James Luttrell.

THOUGH I deſpair, from any thing I can ſay, to awaken miniſters to a ſenſe of their duty, when ſo many gentlemen of much greater abilities and importance than myſelf have failed in the attempt; yet, when I reflect a moment on the preſent times—times, Sir, of general outcry of an invaſion, of the failure of public credit, the exceſs of taxes, the decline of commerce, the bankruptcy of merchants, the murmurs and diſcontent of our fellow-ſubjects, and when we have been told that our fleets and armies are ſcarcely ſufficient to protect this iſland and its foreign dependencies, much leſs adequate to revenge the groſſeſt inſults and indignities ever dared to be offered to the Crown of England by the Houſe of Bourbon—indignities announced by a meſſage from his Majeſty—inſults warmly acknowledged by the miniſters in full Parliament—at ſo humiliating a period of our hiſtory, with the ſword of Great Britain ſheathed in diſgrace; I cannot find myſelf ſeated in the preſence of men who have brought ſo much diſhonour and calamity on my country, without perſevering to reprobate their paſt conduct—without the utmoſt jealouſy and miſtruſt of their future conduct.

The papers now upon the table are proofs preſented to us by government that they had full and timely intelligence of the armament at Toulon; they knew its progreſs regularly from the 3d of January till it ſailed on the 13th of April, with a fair wind; and though that fleet was but ſeven or eight days moderate ſail from the Streights of Gibraltar, it was ſuffered to be at ſea eighteen days, and none of our ſhips ordered out, or found to be in readineſs to proceed againſt that fleet, either by ſtrengthening our force in the Mediterranean, or upon any other plan whatſoever; for it was not till the 1ſt of May, when the wind changed to the weſtward, that Admiral Byron received his orders. The nation will judge whether miniſters have acted like wiſe men, who made proper uſe of intelligence, or like perſons taken by ſurpriſe, and totally ignorant of the operations of France. Their conduct is ſomewhat ſimilar to that extraordinary general, Prince Charles of Lorraine (now governor of the Low Countries) who having received certain intelligence that the King of Pruſſia intended to ſurpriſe his camp, ſurpriſed the King of Pruſſia by getting drunk, and making no preparations for a defence;

defence; by which means his army of 80,000 men was cut to pieces, and defeated by the King's army of only 25,000.

'I beg leave to remind the Houſe, that the Conciliatory Bills are founded on a principle that we are able to contend with France, Spain, and America. How does it agree with that principle to find difficulty in oppoſing one ſingle French ſquadron?

The miniſterial argument, that becauſe all is in danger, we muſt only look at home, may be conſiſtent with their favourite ſelfiſh policy in the extreme; but I truſt the nation has more enlarged ideas, and therefore think the ſailing of the Toulon fleet cannot be too often repeated; the neglect of miniſters, which made that fleet of conſequence, cannot be too much cenſured. As a member of this Houſe I muſt think it my duty to inveſtigate the charge; but, Sir, I am called upon by additional conſiderations, for I was bred in a profeſſion in which I was early taught to look up with emulation and reſpect to thoſe great naval characters who have ſo often diſtinguiſhed themſelves, at the hazard of their lives, in their country's ſervice, and done all that men could do to merit the eſteem of the people; to merit a fair and honourable protection from the Crown and Parliament. Need I ſay, Sir, that Lord Howe is one of thoſe characters; or that to ſee him ſacrificed and betrayed muſt give every honeſt man pain? I cannot therefore pay a compliment to that ſort of candour in miniſters which conſiſts in pretending to be ſo careful of this iſland that ſo gallant an admiral was not thought of till too late to ſend him any aſſiſtance, or even intelligence.

I have heard miniſters plead, that they knew not the deſtination of the Toulon armament: I ſhould imagine their intelligence that eighty maſters of merchant veſſels were ſent to Toulon as pilots; their intelligence that paſſengers of diſtinction, anſwering to the deſcription of emiſſaries from the court of France, were to embark; added to the haſtineſs of the equipment, and the ſtrength of the fleet, would have alarmed miniſters to prepare for its deſtination being to America. Were miniſters ignorant that our army in America depends for ſubſiſtence or retreat upon our ſuperiority by ſea? Were they ignorant that a ſcattered fleet is not a match for one that is united? Were they ignorant that a ſingle ſhip can outſail a fleet? And ought not a man of war to have carried intelligence to Lord Howe of a ſuperior fleet to his own ſtanding to the weſtward? If miniſters could not ſpare a ſquadron, was the object hazarded not worth ſparing one ſingle ſhip?

Miniſters

Miniſters knew the Toulon armament was deſtined to commit hoſtilities againſt us. Were they ignorant that we are unprepared to contend with it in any part of the globe? Ought not a fleet then to have been ready to oppoſe it? ought not the ſame Admiral, and the ſame ſhips, to have been ready to ſail from Spithead in time, when wind was fair, inſtead of delaying till it was too late, and the wind contrary? Could no privy council be found between January and May, to determine how to act, ſhould the Toulon fleet put to ſea? Were they all that time wrangling who ſhould have the reverſion of the Cinque Ports? or are they totally indifferent how many gallant officers, ſhips or troops, are ſacrificed through their wavering policy of extreme raſhneſs, or extreme indolence and ſomnolency?

What is the ſituation of Lord Howe? Was he ſent to America to watch the motions of the French, or to protect the army, and to ſcatter his fleet along the coaſt, to prevent the Americans from interrupting our commerce? Lord Howe is known to be as vigilant as he is brave; but it may be difficult to enter into his great mind, that an inſulted flag is parading at Spithead; or that miniſters, who promiſed to be his truſty centinels upon Europe, have ſlept on the watch, or been regaling at a mere puppet-ſhew; while that gallant admiral, without time to collect his ſcattered ſhips, is ſuffered to be attacked by a fleet ſuperior to his own—a fleet from France—a fleet eſcaped from under the eye of government, and gone forth in defiance of that boaſted navy of Great Britain, which the Earl of Sandwich ſo often pledged his faith to be ſuperior to the united fleets of France and Spain. That boaſted navy, which, by the grants upon our journals, appears to have coſt this nation, in the eight years of that Earl's adminiſtration, twice as much as the eight years of the laſt war.

Had a ſingle ſhip been ſent in time to Lord Howe, with orders to prepare, perhaps the great naval ſkill of that Admiral, joined to the abilities of the gallant officers who ſerve under him, might have united a force, and ſo managed it, as to have protected that part of the coaſt where General Howe's army is employed. But then we muſt judge of Lord Howe's fleet by his returns in November, and attribute to the confidence which miniſtry place in our running no hazard of defeat in America; that allowing for the Briſtol gone to Jamaica, and a ſixty-four gun ſhip returned home, that there remain the Eagle 64, St. Albans 64, Reaſonable 64, Nonſuch 64, Somerſet 64, Centurion 50, Preſton 50, Iſis 50,

Expe-

Experiment 50, Renown 50, Phœnix 40, Rainbow 40, Roebuck 40, the Ardent 64, and Trident 64, on their paſſage out. In all ſeven ſail of the line, five fifty-gun ſhips, three forty-gun ſhips, and about twenty-ſix frigates, with the advantage of ſmaller rates to ſupply the fleet with men. But Parliament muſt ſee that, under the moſt flattering circumſtances, that fleet could not protect the Delaware, New York, Nova Scotia, and Canada.

But what ſhall be ſaid ſevere enough of miniſters, if they have hazarded ſo formidable an attack from the French, not only without the advantage of Lord Howe to command our fleet, but perhaps deprived of half the ſhips I have before ſtated; for, if report ſays true, Lord Howe, in the Eagle, with two ſixty-four gun ſhips, and ſome frigates, are now in their paſſage home. Others only ſay, that a part of our ſhips are ordered to return, but not Lord Howe. Sir, if either of thoſe reports are founded on truth, what ſort of a fleet will then remain in America to protect the Britiſh army? Or ſhould any ſquadron of ours be met on their paſſage home by the Toulon fleet, would they not be ſacrificed through the fatal neglect of miniſtry? For though I will admit that it might not have been Count D'Eſtaing's original plan to have ſteered to intercept them, yet when we conſider the ſtrong ſouth-weſt winds which blowed in the beginning of May, which would have driven the French fleet (if in the weſtern ocean) up into our northern latitudes, it is no longer improbable that our men of war ſhould be met on their paſſage home, and be taken by ſo ſuperior a force.

A Mediterranean fleet of obſervation was the more neceſſary, becauſe a fair wind depends not only upon the place bound to, but the place bound from; whereas a ſquadron ſent from our channel, having the ſame wind with the French fleet, might not find equal advantages to ſhape a courſe for America, and thereby arrive too late to be of any utility.

How far the reſources of this country, its ſea and land forces, are equal to contend with France, Spain, and America, miniſters, who have made the taſk inevitable, muſt anſwer to the nation. But I do ſay, if Parliament is ſo panic-ſtruck about invaſions—is grown ſo very humble, and inſignificant, as to give up all hopes of revenging the inſults of the Houſe of Bourbon, and baſely mean to yield up the dominion of the ſeas to our natural enemies, without ſtriking one blow, for the ancient honour and reputation of the Britiſh flag; Parliament ought, at leaſt, in common juſtice to the characters of gallant officers, who have lived to ſerve their country

country in better days, and under better miniſters, to have ſecured to them a ſafe and honourable retreat, which the army and navy in America may, through the fatal treachery and neglect of miniſters, be totally cut off from, for want of timely intelligence, and a proper addition of ſhips; and, ſhould the hand of Providence have interpoſed ſo much in our favour, as to have rendered eighteen days ineffectual to the deſigns of France, and ſo ordered the winds, that, whilſt they blew ſtrong at eaſt, both in the Channel and Mediterranean, when the French fleet ſailed, and, though the wind did not change to the weſtward with us till the 1ſt of May, that it ſhould have changed in the Mediterranean ſoon after Comte D'Eſtaing, I believe ſo providential an event would not be attributed to the prayers of the Earl of Sandwich, or be ſufficient to convince the nation of the vigilance, foreſight, and wiſe precaution of government.

I ſhall take this opportunity to ſay a few words relative to the armament at Cadiz. I have heard it ſaid, that it is only meant to protect their galleons. But can we be a moment deceived in the intentions of the Spaniards, when we ſee them ſend out a force equal to the utmoſt exigency of being abſoſutely at war with Great Britain. Is it not a proof, that they do not expect to be at peace with us, even till the month of June, when, at the lateſt, their galleons ſhould arrive? Is it not a proof, that they, too, have ſigned the treaty? Whatever be the real deſtination of that armament, let me remind the miniſtry, that the review is over, and Gibraltar defenceleſs.

As to an invaſion, I have too great an opinion of the ſpirit of Engliſhmen, to dread its conſequences. I hope, likewiſe, that we have at laſt got a fleet to guard our coaſt. We know we have an admiral to command it, [Keppel,] juſtly confided in by this country, and whom the French and Spaniards dread, by their dear-bought experience.

I cannot ſit down, Sir, without touching on the difficulty which gentlemen on that ſide the Houſe have expreſſed, to reconcile to their underſtandings the warlike order of the minority members, who ſo long reprobated the civil conteſts. I think I can, in very few words, prove my conduct to be conſiſtent, if not to their ſatisfaction, at leaſt to their conviction.

I never mean to retract my opinions on that ſubject. I acknowledge I wiſhed the Americans ſucceſs, as long as you waged an unjuſt, raſh, and ſavage war againſt them, without holding out redreſs of grievances, and conſtitutional terms of peace.

peace. And, Sir, the ſame ſentiments which warmed me in their cauſe, muſt animate me to call ſtrenuouſly upon miniſtry for vigorous meaſures againſt France and Spain. It is becauſe I glory in oppoſing Arbitrary Power, and never wiſh to ſee deſpotic principles eſtabliſhed in the conſtitution of Great Britain, whether by the arms of our enemies, or through the treachery of our miniſters.

I ſhall give my hearty vote for the Right Hon. Member's motions. They are founded on ſtrong incontrovertible facts, furniſhed by government themſelves.

In the debate on the contractors bill, Governor Pownall's ſpeech, page 255, is miſtated. He voted for the bill's going to a committee; becauſe, as he obſerved, the ſenſe of the Houſe had already been twice taken upon it, and a reſpectable majority having both times appeared in favour of it, he thought there was an indecency upon a ſmall majority to refuſe ſending the bill to a committee.

THE

THE

INDEX

TO THE

EIGHTH VOLUME.

ADAIR, Mr. moves that the right of appointing commiſſioners to treat of peace, belong to the Parliament, and not to the crown 46
——— thinks that placemen and penſioners, as well as contractors, ought to be expelled the Houſe 255
Adam, Mr. enters into a diſcuſſion of the characters of the French miniſters 297
——— recommends the late Lord Chatham as an example for the miniſters 298
Addreſs of the Houſe of Commons to the King 160
——— the anſwer thereto 161
Army, navy, and ordnance, an account of the expences of, ſince the commencement of the war 212
Articles of agreement between the Lords of the treaſury and Meſſ. Harley and Drummond for foreign money 168
Aſtley, Sir Edward, riſes in ſupport of the contractors bill 168
Aubrey, Mr. ſhews the impoſſibility of conquering America 25
——— riſes to give his aſſent to Lord *North's* propoſitions for peace with *America* 43
Aubrey, Mr. ſhews the fatal effects of the preſent ruinous meaſures 44
——— has no hopes of Lord North's propoſitions ſucceeding 45
——— repreſents the *delenda eſt Carthago* as the favourite maxim of the preſent miniſtry 130
——— accuſes adminiſtration of attempting to ſtarve and extirpate the colonies 131
——— conſiders Lord North's adminiſtration as unfortunate 159
——— repreſents the French and American war united as a ſtate of deſpair ib.
——— conſiders Lord Chatham as the only man who could ſave the nation from ruin ib.
——— much commends the inquiry into the expenditure of the public money 180
Authentic papers reſpecting the equipment and ſailing of the French fleet from Toulon 290
Bacon, Mr. A. riſes in defence of the honeſty of government contractors 245
Baker, Mr. propoſes the removal of the preſent miniſter, as an amendment in the addreſs to his Majeſty 136

Baker, Mr. is ſevere on the contractors for providing the gold coin 174
—— riſes in defence of the Iriſh 185
—— expreſſes his aſtoniſhment at Lord North's temerity 200
Baldwin, Mr. complains of being deceived by adminiſtration 43
Barré, Col. produces ſome inſtances of the cruelty of the ſavages 14
—— conſiders Lord North as little better than a penſioner to France 158
—— obſerves that Lord North ſaid nothing to the purpoſe of the Canada expedition 159
—— remarks on the enormous ſupplies, and the ſhameful manner in which they had been ſquandered 175
—— complains of the public money lying in the hands of favourite placemen, favourite agents, and favourite contractors 176
—— compares the expences of the laſt glorious war with the preſent diſgraceful, ruinous, and inglorious war ib.
—— takes a more particular view of agents, contractors, ſplitting of profits, &c. ib.
—— conſiders the ſhameful management in the rum contract 177
—— is ironically ſevere on the warmth of Lord North ib.
—— complains of enormous ſums being unaccounted for 178
—— paints our gloomy proſpects, in the ſtrongeſt colours ib.
—— ſtrongly recommends public œconomy 179
—— ſaid that contracts ought to be open, and offered to the loweſt bidder 245
—— alludes to a member, who, while he talked of his independence, got 30,000*l.* a year by private contracts ib.
—— ſtates the caſe, how a miniſter may plunder the nation 246
—— moves for the late Earl of Chatham to be buried at the public expence 285
Barré, Col. complains of the waſte of the public money 338, 340
Beauchamp, Lord, objects to the diſmiſſion of the preſent miniſtry, as moved for by Mr. Luttrell 129
—— conſiders the taxes in Ireland as greater, in proportion, than in England 207
—— ſpeaks in ſupport of the bill in favour of the Roman Catholics 287
Bill for declaring the intention of Parliament on the right of impoſing taxes within the provinces of North America 60
—— to enable his Majeſty to appoint commiſſioners to quiet the diſorders now ſubſiſting in North America 61
Bull, Mr. Alderman, laments the little confidence there is to be placed in miniſterial aſſurances 182
—— conſiders the preſent war as founded on injuſtice, and executed in inhumanity ib.
—— repreſents the ſole views of adminiſtration, to enrich and aggrandize themſelves; to plunder, impoveriſh, and enſlave the people 183
Buller, Mr. moves for the ſupply for the ſervice of the navy 25
Burke, Mr. moves for papers, relative to the employing the Indians in the American war 3
—— ſtates what a war by Indians is 4
—— conſiders the apologies that had been made for employing the Indians 5
—— ſhews the monſtrous expence of that kind of ally 6
—— touches upon the burning the towns of Falmouth and Norfolk 7
—— enters upon Lord Dunmore's attempt to excite an inſurrection of the negroes ib.

Burke, Mr. ſhews the little grounds the Americans had to confide in us 8
——— moves for copies of all treaties and conventions with the Indians of North America 17
——— makes four other motions, all which receive a negative ib.
——— obſerves, that the aſſurances of the miniſter were conſtantly in a regular, ſucceſſive, uniform ſtate of contradiction to each other 23
——— throws the fine gilt book of eſtimates at the treaſury bench 30
——— conſiders the miniſtry as very improper perſons to nominate commiſſioners 48
——— conſiders the Houſe-tax bill as a bill of puniſhment upon the citizens of London 173
——— objects to paying for hatchets, tomohawks, ſcalping-knives, &c. for the uſe of the Indians 175
——— conſiders Ireland as the chief dependency of the Britiſh Crown 185
——— conſiders the Crown raiſing troops without the conſent of parliament as unconſtitutional 206
——— laments that this country is reduced to the poor dependence of hopes and prayers, the arms of old women 263
——— conſiders the trade of Ireland as kept under the moſt cruel, oppreſſive, and unnatural reſtriction 265
——— repreſents the Iriſh as a very peaceable people 266
——— defends the minority 354
Burgoyne, Gen. ſpeaks in defence of Mr. Hartley's motion for continuing the ſeſſion of parliament 344
——— complains of perſecution 348
——— replies to Mr. Wedderburne 350
——— his ſpeech on Mr. Vyner's motion for an enquiry into the *Saratoga buſineſs* 308
Byng, Mr. conſiders the Houſe-tax as oppreſſive and injurious 173
——— ſpeaks in behalf of the Iriſh 185
——— expreſſes his aſtoniſhment at the inſolence of the miniſter 200
——— accuſes Lord North of muſtering all his forces to oppoſe the contractors bill 253
Campbell, Lord Frederick, complains of the partiality in which proviſion was made for the American ſufferers 149
Canada, proceedings of the Houſe, on the expedition there 161
Cavendiſh, Lord John, calls the ſerious attention of the Houſe to the ruinous ſtate of the nation 24
——— wiſhes that a proviſion was made for the deſcendants of the late Lord Chatham 284
City of London, petition for leave to bury the Earl of Chatham in the Cathedral of St. Paul 289
Clerk, Sir Philip Jennings, conſiders Lord North's conciliatory plans as an act of neceſſity, not of choice 41
——— animadverts on his Lordſhip's account of the ſtrength and ſpirit of the nation 42
——— compares Lord North to an unſkilful navigator 42
——— thinks the Americans can never treat with a man who has ill-treated and abuſed them, added inſult to injury, and waded deep in their blood 43
——— gives notice of his intended motion relative to contractors 186
——— conſiders the preſent race of miniſters as a ſet of dangerous men 242
——— alludes to the ſhameful management in the gold contract 243
——— conſiders contracts to members as an arrant job, and as creating dangerous influence in the Houſe 243

Clerk, Sir Philip Jennings, moves for a bill to prevent members taking a contract with government 244
——— ſpeaks in defence of the contractors bill 251
——— conſiders the object of that bill as to take care the public are not defrauded 252
Conolly, Mr. riſes to ſtate the dangerous and defenceleſs ſtate of Ireland 151
Conway, Gen. expreſſes his reſentment at the treatment we had received from France 155
——— expreſſes very little apprehenſion from the fear of an invaſion 156
——— conſiders the Americans as already an independent ſtate 157
Cooper, Sir Grey, riſes to move for the third reading of the American commiſſioners bill 64
——— takes a general ſurvey of the utility of that bill 65
——— preſents to the Houſe articles of agreement between the Lords of the treaſury and Meſſ. Harley and Drummond for foreign money 168
——— moves for a further proviſion for the American refugees 248
Cornwall, Mr. attributes the great expenditure to the enormous riſe of all the materials uſed in ſhip building, &c. 179
——— is of opinion that parliament are not competent judges, reſpecting the Saratoga buſineſs 323
Coxe, Mr. H. foretells the approach of a French war 123
Debates on the ſupply of the navy 25
——— on Lord North's motions to bring in conciliatory bills with America 35
——— on the motion to appoint commiſſioners 46
——— on the motion to repeal the Maſſachuſet's charter act 50
——— in the committee on the conciliatory bills 55
Debates on the ſtate of the navy 95
——— on Mr. Grenville's motion for papers relative to the treaty between France and America 133
——— on the motion for an addreſs to the king 136
——— on the Canada papers 161
——— on continuing the convict act 171
——— on the firſt reading of the houſe-tax bill 172
——— on the army ſupplies 174
——— on Col. Barré's motion for a committee to inquire into the expenditure of the public money 175
——— on Sir William Meredith's motion to repeal the declaratory act 204
——— on the trade of Ireland 206
——— on the proviſion bill for the King's children 209
——— on Mr. Powys's motion to give further inſtructions to the American commiſſioners 235
——— on a motion for a bill to exclude contractors from a ſeat in the Houſe of Commons 242
——— on the army recruiting bill, 247
——— on a motion to repeal the Quebec act 248
——— on granting a ſum for the American refugees 249
——— on the contractor's bill 251
——— on the King's meſſage for a vote of credit 256
——— on the Iriſh importation bill 261
——— on the death of Lord Chatham 282
——— on the bill in favour of the Roman Catholics 285
——— on Sir William Meredith's motions reſpecting the French fleet 297
Dundas, Mr. Henry, acknowledges that the meaſure of taxation in America cannot be carried into execution 77
——— is rather for forming a

federal union, than loſing America, totally 159
Dundas, Mr. Henry, conſiders the plan of the Canada expedition as a wiſe one 166
——— repreſents the power of Britain as ſufficient to check France, and recover America 241
Dunning, Mr. wiſhes to preſerve the dependence of America 241
——— ſeconds the motion for the repeal of an act to prevent the growth of popery further 287
Egerton, Sir Thomas, riſes in defence of the Mancheſter people againſt the obſervations of Mr. Wilkes 199
——— conſiders the granting of indulgencies to Ireland as hurtful to England 207
——— defends the intereſt of the Mancheſter people againſt the propoſed acts in favour of Ireland 263
Ellis, Mr. Welbore, riſes to juſtify the care and attention of the navy department 27
——— aſſerts that the Crown cannot, without wounding liberty, grant charters independent of the power of Parliament 54
——— conſiders the Houſe of Commons as an improper aſſembly to diſcuſs ſtate affairs 300
——— ſays the buſineſs of parliament is to raiſe money, and not to debate on the meaſures of government ib.
Ferguſſon, Sir Adam, defends the character of the Glaſgow people againſt the aſſertions of Earl Nugent 263
——— ſtates the injuries the Glaſgow people would receive, ſhould the Iriſh trade bills paſs 265
Fox, Mr. ſtates a great number of facts relative to the army in America 18
——— gives the moſt ample teſtimony to the bravery and good conduct of our generals 19
——— inſiſts that the nation had loſt 20,000 men in America 25
Fox, Mr. aſſents to the propoſitions made by Lord North 39
——— ſays, Lord North hoped and was diſappointed; he expected a great deal and found little 40
——— aſks the miniſters, whether they knew of the treaty between France and America 41
——— inſiſts that the preſent miniſtry can have no title to the confidence of the Americans 48
——— moves that the preſent ſtate of the navy, is inadequate for our defence 104
——— ſtates the plan of the Canada expedition as wrong and impracticable 161
——— conſiders the ſecretary for the American department as the author of the ruin of this country 162
——— conſiders his mind and judgment as unprejudiced 236
——— thinks it impoſſible for us to regain the dependence of the American colonies 237
——— conſiders the dependency of America as of very little conſequence to this country ib.
——— points out the dangers ariſing from the Crown obtaining too much power 238
——— thinks that America may become the *Arcadia*, but never the Britain of the world ib.
——— conſiders the concilatory act as totally inadequate to the object it was to ſerve 239
——— cenſures adminiſtration for calling thoſe perſons to their aſſiſtance whoſe meaſures they condemn 240
——— oppoſes the granting a vote of credit to ignorant miniſters 259
——— refers to a former reſolution, that the navy in its preſent ſtate is inadequate to the defence of the empire 260
——— thinks the preſent inauſpicious miniſtry have ſealed their fatal character ib.

Fox, Mr. conſiders the painful pre-eminence of office at this time to be little envied 261
—— refutes the arguments uſed by Mr. Ellis 301
—— propoſes an amendment to the motion for an inquiry into the Saratoga expedition 308
—— is for referring the papers relative to the Saratoga expedition to a committee 325
—— againſt the proroguing the parliament 351
Fraſer, Gen. goes through the whole ſubject of the American diſpute for the laſt fifteen or ſixteen years 55
French ambaſſador's declaration of the American treaty, a copy of 135
Gaſcoigne, Mr. paſſes ſome perſonal invectives on Sir Wm. Meredith 3
—— brings up the report of the reſolutions agreed to in the committee of ſupply 135
—— moves ſeveral amendments in the Iriſh importation bill 288
Germain, Lord George, exclaims againſt perſonalities, and doubts not his own honour 9
—— commends the conduct of adminiſtration in employing the ſavages in the American war ib.
—— acknowledges that appearance was againſt the miniſtry: but that it could not juſtify condemnation 259
—— replies to Gen. Burgoyne 322
—— replies to Mr. T. Luttrell 327, 328
Gilbert, Mr. propoſes a tax of one fourth on the income of all placemen 77, 94
Gordon, Lord George, conſiders Lord North as a right hon. privy counſellor contractor 246
—— accuſes the blue-ribbanded Lord, of a ſhameful act of venality and corruption ib.
Gordon, Lord George, adviſes the noble Lord to call off his butchers and ravagers from the colonies, and to repent of his crimes 247
—— gives a very ſpirited reply to Lord North ib.
—— conſiders the contractors bill as neceſſary and pleaſing to the people in general 254
—— ſays the Houſe is compoſed of taylors, and ſhoe-makers, colliers, and cabbage-ſalters, potatoe-foreſtallers, four-crout-makers, &c. ib.
—— votes for an inquiry into the Saratoga buſineſs 328
Grenville, Mr. in an animated ſpeech, condemns the conduct of the American war 20
—— deplores the diſgrace brought not upon our arms but our councils 21
—— alludes to Lord Chatham as the only man capable of ſettling our diſputes 22
—— calls upon the miniſtry to declare what they know of the treaty between France and America 45
—— moves for copies of all communications from our ambaſſador at France 133
—— makes a ſecond motion to the ſame purpoſe
—— wiſhes to revive the committee on the ſtate of the nation 325
Harley, Mr. declares his conduct in parliament was never influenced by contracts 244
Hartley, Mr. ſtates the expences of the army, navy, and ordnance, ſince the commencement of the war 244
—— his obſervations on thoſe enormous expences 246
—— eſtimates the great loſs we ſuſtain by the American war 247
—— thinks it endleſs to attempt to recapitulate the grievances and follies of that war ib.
—— conſiders the fatal effects of the fall of public credit 248

Hartley, Mr. ſays the havock and ruin of the curſed American war overtakes us at every turn 248
——— laments the horrible waſte of men, money, and ſhips, to purchaſe the loſs of the colonies ib.
——— preſſes the neceſſity of an immediate peace with America 249
——— conſiders us as laviſhing the riches of this nation in the purſuit of injuſtice, folly, and madneſs 250
——— lays the imputation of all our misfortunes on the preſent miniſtry 251
——— conſiders the loſs of America as entirely owing to the unpardonable obſtinacy of adminiſtration ib.
——— foretells the deſtruction of Gen. Burgoyne's army 252
——— reads his motion 253
——— moves for an addreſs to his Majeſty 334
——— withdraws the ſame 338
——— moves for an addreſs to the King not to prorogue the Parliament 341
Houſes, a tax thereon propoſed by Lord North oppoſed by the gentlemen in oppoſition 94
Jenkinſon, Mr. conſiders the American war as a juſt one 153
——— and alſo a popular war 154
——— repreſents our army and funds as in no bad ſtate ib.
——— conſiders the French nation as a declining ſtate 155
——— ſays the treaſury-board was always very exact in making inquiries before they entered on contracts 181
——— maintains that the public finances were never more prudently managed than at preſent 339
Johnſtone, Gov. contends for the legality of the ſubſcriptions for raiſing troops 2
——— expatiates on the bad policy of employing Indians in the American war 15
——— accuſes the navy department of applying the money to uſes contrary to what it was granted for 31
Johnſtone, Gov. conſiders the miniſtry as very improper perſons to nominate American commiſſioners 49
——— declares he always has been, and ſtill is, againſt the independence of America 158
——— ridicules Lord North's ſelf-ſufficiency 180
——— undertakes the American commiſſion with hopes of ſucceſs 240
——— wiſhes for the repeal of the declaratory law ib.
——— conſiders the generality of the Americans as averſe to independence, and as dreading the power of Congreſs 241
Jolliffe, Mr. declares his hearty averſion to the war from the beginning of it 50
——— told the miniſtry long ſince that they might ſmother the flame with coals, but the fire would burſt forth in general conflagration 51
——— thinks an inquiry ſhould be made, not only into the failure of Gen. Burgoyne; but into the conduct of the whole war 52
——— aſſerts that we have loſt an empire, and are in the ſtate of ſupplians 53
——— conſiders the event of the Canada expedition as the loſs of a whole army, and all the hopes of the conqueſt of America 162
——— repreſents it as a diſgrace which the nation can never recover, and as the blackeſt page in the Engliſh hiſtory 163
——— thinks the inquiry into the conduct of the Generals Howe and Burgoyne ſhould not be haſtily entered into ib.
——— ſtates the intended advantages from the Canada expedition 164
——— endeavours to ſupport the miniſter who forwarded the Canada expedition ib.
——— conſiders the miniſter rather

as unfortunate than as deſerving of cenſure 165
Jolliffe, Mr. is of opinion that the miniſter merits the hearty thanks of his country 166
——— is againſt repealing the Quebec act 248
Ironham, Lord, animadverts on the conduct of adminiſtration to the Duke of Glouceſter 226
——— ſeconds Mr. Wilkes, in wiſhing the marriages of the royal brothers were publicly declared 232
——— arraigns the conduct of the miniſtry reſpecting the marriage of the Duke of Glouceſter 233
——— conſiders the opinions of the privy-council as liable to change frequently and wantonly ib.
Keppel, Adm. wiſhes rather for a ſmall fleet well manned and fitted, than many ſhips badly equipped 123
King, ſends a meſſage to the Houſe concerning the treaty ſigned between France and America 134
——— receives an addreſs from the Houſe of Commons on the declarations of the French 160
——— his anſwer thereto 161
——— ſends a meſſage to the Houſe concerning the drawing out and embodying the militia 170
——— ſends another meſſage, praying a proviſion for his children 209
——— ſends another for a vote of credit 255
——— ſends a meſſage to the Houſe of Commons, on their addreſs for proviſion to be made for the Chatham family 290
Leith, Sir Alexander, accuſes Lord George George Germain as the ſole author of emdioying the ſavages 9
Letter from Gen. Waſhington to Gen. Burgoyne 314
Liſt of the ſelect committee appointed to inſpect into the expenditure of public money 184
Lowther, Sir James, wiſhes that the marriages of the royal Dukes were publicly acknowledged 234
——— moves for continuing the ſeſſion 356
Luttrell, the Hon. James, wiſhes government had offered proper terms of peace to the colonies 124
——— conſiders the ruinous conſequences attending the war ib.
——— has no hopes of peace with America while the preſent miniſtry continue in office 125
——— conſiders the preſent miniſtry as a Janus ib.
——— wiſhes to open the eyes of our Sovereign to his misfortunes 126
——— conſiders the miniſtry as an arbitrary and jealous ſet of men ib.
——— accuſes adminiſtration of having loſt one half of the empire, and nearly ruined the other half 127
——— repreſents the preſent miniſtry as odious, miſtruſted, and abhorred in America ib.
——— moves an addreſs to his Majeſty for the removal of particular ſervants, on certain occaſions 128
——— inſiſts that no good can ariſe from accommodations attempted by the preſent miniſtry 131
——— conſiders the peace and proſperity of the empire as ſacrificed to private ambition 132
——— his ſpeech on the Toulon armament 362
Luttrell, Hon. T. conſiders each man of the Houſe as equal in his delegated character from the people 26
——— inquires into the expences of ſhip-building and repairs 28
——— mentions the enormous ſums granted for the repairs of the navy 29
——— denies ſaying that Lord Sandwich pocketed the ſupplies ib.
——— objects to receiving the report from the committee of ſupply 31

Luttrell, Hon. T. charges the miniſtry with delivering a fallacious account of the navy 101
—— enters into a long inquiry into the papers relative to the navy 104
—— inquires into the complement of men on board our fleets 105
—— accuſes the admiralty of falſity and deceit 106
—— complains of very large embezzlements 107
—— takes under conſideration the monies of late years granted by parliament ib.
—— takes notice of the wiſe and honeſt management of the marine boards 108
—— laments that miniſters are ſuffered to employ money for other purpoſes than thoſe intended 109
—— ſtates the difference between former and preſent expences ib.
—— conſiders the manufacturing of the naval debt as a mockery of all numerical inveſtigation 110
—— compares the difference between the Lords Hawke and Sandwich ib.
—— ſhews the very indifferent ſtate of our preſent navy 111
—— complains of the bad timber uſed in repairs 112
—— ſtates the wretched condition of ſome particular ſhips 113
—— conſiders the French ſhips as better built than ours 114
—— ſtates the bad condition our ſhips are in at home ib.
—— takes a review of our navy at the beginning of the laſt war 115
—— ſtates the ſtrength of the French fleets at that period ib.
—— repreſents the preſent naval force of the French and Spaniards as formidable 116
—— conſiders our ſupplies as exceedingly reduced ib.
Luttrell, Hon. T. conſiders the facility of an enemy landing on this iſland 117
—— arraigns the haughty language of the miniſter ib.
—— conſiders the ſtate of our navy in former reigns 118
—— explains what is the uſe of frigates in an engagement 119
—— inſiſts that our ſhips fit for ſervice are leſs in number, and worſe in condition, than ever was known 120
—— laments the great want of ſeamen to man our fleets ib.
—— conſiders it as impoſſible to ſtand againſt the naval power of France, Spain, and America 121
—— recommends our attention to the Aſiatic and African trade 122
—— ſeconds Mr. Fox's motion relative to the inadequate ſtate of our navy 123
—— ſevere on Ld. G. Germain 329
Macdonald, Mr. conſiders Ld. North as blameleſs in the Canada expedition 162
Mawbey, Sir Joſeph, is very ſevere upon the contractors in general 244
Melliſh, Mr. laments the preſent times, in which the Houſe tamely ſubmits to the inſolence of the Houſe of Bourbon 157
—— conſiders what are the reſources of both France and America 152
Memorial delivered by the American commiſſioners to the court of France, an extract from 139
Meredith, Sir William, attacks Lord North on the illegality of ſubſcriptions 2
—— conſiders charter rights at leaſt as ſacred as the rights of property 54
—— moves for a repeal of all the American compulſive acts 204
—— conſiders the powers given to

to the American commiſſioners as not ſufficient 204
Meredith, Sir William, accuſes adminiſtration of being thoughtleſs and regardleſs of what is paſt, preſent, and to come 297
——— conſiders the firſt Lord of the admiralty as guilty of deceit ib.
——— moves three reſolutions reſpecting the ſailing of the Toulon fleet, &c. 298
Middleton, Lord, brings up the reports from the committee appointed to inquire into the acts relative to the trade of Ireland 210
——— brings up the farther proceedings of the committee on that buſineſs 224
Moreton, Mr. argues in defence of American taxation 55
——— holds out the ſame arguments in the debates on Lord's North's conciliatory bills 76
Moyſey, Mr. ſpeaks in favour of the ſupplies for the new levies 1
——— inſiſts that the Crown has the right to appoint the American commiſſioners 46
Navy, a ſtate of, being the ſubſtance of all the papers from the admiralty and other offices, laid upon the table 95
—— weekly account of the ſhips and veſſels employed in North America 98
—— ſtate of the ſhips and veſſels of war on the Jamaica ſtation 100
—— account of the number of ſeamen and marines employed 102
—— army and ordnance, an account of 212
Newhaven, Ld. ſpeaks in defence of the Iriſh importation bill 332
——— oppoſes Mr. Hartley's motion for an addreſs 336
North, Lord, contends the ſubſcriptions for new troops were nothing new or uncommon 1
North, Lord, conſiders the employing of ſavages as bad, but unavoidable 16
—— gives notice to the Houſe of his intended plan of conciliation with the Americans 18
—— agreeable to his promiſe, makes his conciliatory propoſitions 35
—— aſſerts that he never had any idea to draw any conſiderable revenue from America ib.
—— thought the Americans would not complain of the tea act 36
—— propoſes a bill to quiet the Americans on the ſubject of taxation ib.
—— propoſes to give full powers to commiſſioners to treat 37
—— adviſes to inſtruct the commiſſioners to negotiate for a moderate contribution towards the common defence of the empire when reunited 38
—— ſays he was extremely diſappointed in his expectations of the effect of our military force 39
—— declares he knows not any thing, for certain, of the treaty between France and the Americans 45
—— makes his motions on the conciliatory bill ib.
—— declares the commiſſioners would have no power to grant the Americans independence 57
—— moves, that the bill declaring the intentions of Parliament relative to taxing America be read a third time 68
—— opens the budget 89
—— hints at the attempts of ſome people to depreſs the credit of the nation 91
—— mentions the experiment he had made of criminal labour on the river Thames 92
—— propoſes an additional tax on houſes, on wines imported, &c. 93
—— his calculation of the produce of thoſe taxes ib.

North, Lord, conſiders the propoſing of taxes as no very agreeable buſineſs 94
—— denies that the French had any hoſtile intentions 123
—— gives notice that he ſhall preſent a meſſage from the King 133
—— deſires the Houſe to take notice, that he never ſaid France had not ſigned the American treaty ib.
—— declares it is his firm reſolution to keep his place 134
—— preſents the King's meſſage to the Houſe ib.
—— preſents to the Houſe the declaration from the French court of the American treaty ib.
—— moves for an addreſs to his Majeſty on the above declaration 136
—— declares he will not quit the helm while the ſhip of the ſtate was toſſed about in a ſtorm 157
—— declares he ſees no foundation for the preſent public alarms ib.
—— conſiders the dread of an invaſion as a mere bugbear ib.
—— hopes that every gentleman will not ſcruple to hazard his life and fortune in the diſpute with the court of France 158
—— riſes to declare he is willing to ſhare part of the blame for the failure of the Canada expedition 167
—— preſents a meſſage to the Houſe from the King 170
—— moves for leave to bring in a bill for continuing the act for employing convicts on the river Thames 171
—— preſents the bill for laying a tax upon houſes 172
—— riſes in great warmth, and declares he knows currency from ſterling 177
—— is called ſeveral times to order ib.
—— moves for the whole Houſe to form itſelf into a committee on the *trade of Ireland* 185
North, Lord, thinks the Iriſh catholics juſtly complain of the ſeverity of the penal laws 208
—— preſents a meſſage from the King, praying a proviſion for his children 209
—— objects to the terms Mr. Hartley propoſes for making peace with America 222
—— conſiders the expences of the three laſt years as amounting only to 23,500,000l. ib.
—— inſiſts that his heart cannot be to blame, though his head may 223
—— preſents the proviſion bill for the King's children 225
—— puſhes the ſecond reading of the proviſion bill for the royal children 226
—— is againſt making any further conceſſions to America 242
—— declares whatever he did, by the way of contracts, was always for the beſt 246
—— delivers a meſſage to the Houſe from the King for a vote of credit 255
—— attempts to clear adminiſtration from the imputation of treachery and incapacity 257
—— conſiders it as the duty of Britain to give Ireland ſome recompence for the exertions ſhe has made 265
—— agrees to the motion for burying the late Lord Chatham at the public expence 286
—— aſſures the Houſe, that the King approves of their addreſs to him on the above occaſion ib.
—— preſents his Majeſty's anſwer to the addreſs for the proviſion of the Chatham family 290
—— apologiſes for his own conduct 302
—— believes that the French fleet were ill-manned, and badly provided with every thing 303
—— denies General Burgoyne is a perſecuted man 355

Nugent, Earl, is ſatisfied that the miniſters purſued the beſt meaſures though they failed 23
——— urges the impropriety of inquiring into the ſtate of the nation 162
——— takes a view of the trade of Ireland 206
——— makes a motion for particular indulgencies to be granted the Iriſh 207
——— makes further motions relative to the encouragement of the Iriſh trade 208
——— objects to the reading of the contractors bill 251
——— cenſures the illiberal ſentiments of the Glaſgow people 263
Obſervations of Mr. Coxe, Admiral Keppell, and Lord North 123
Ongley, Lord, declares himſelf to be againſt any meaſure of accommodation with America 23
Penton, Mr. endeavours to vindicate the conduct of adminiſtration 259
Petition of ſeveral of the gentlemen, freeholders and others, of the county of Norfolk and the city of Norwich, preſented and read 32
——— of the free burgeſſes, freeholders, and inhabitants of the town and county, of Newcaſtle upon Tyne 183
——— of the mayor, &c. of the borough of Wigan in Lancaſhire 268
——— of the land owners and manufacturers of Wigan 269
——— of the gentlemen, clergy, &c. of Preſton ib.
——— of the manufacturers of glaſs in Stourbridge, and Dudley 270
——— of the merchants and manufacturers of nails in Dudley ib.
——— of the merchants, &c. of Glaſgow 271
——— of the mayor, and capital burgeſſes of Walſall ib.
——— of the mayor, &c. and manufacturers of gloves, at Worceſter 271
Petition of the mayor, &c. of Briſtol 272
——— of the ſociety of merchant venturers at Briſtol ib.
——— of the importers and manufacturers of hemp, iron, and ſteel, of Briſtol ib.
——— from ſeveral perſons inhabitants of Yeovil, Preſton, &c. 273
——— of the manufacturers of Aberbrothock ib.
——— of the merchants, &c. of Wolverhampton ib.
——— of the gentlemen, &c. of the county of Lancaſter 274
——— of the burgeſſes, &c. of Newton in Lancaſhire ib.
——— of the gentlemen, &c. of Warrington ib.
——— another from the ſame ib.
——— of the tallow-chandlers and ſoap-boilers of Liverpool 275
——— of the merchants and traders in the town of Lancaſter ib.
——— from the gentlemen, merchants, &c. of Liverpool ib.
——— of ſeveral manufacturers of ſail-cloth in Warrington, Lancaſter, &c. ib.
——— from the gentlemen, merchants, &c. of Liverpool 276
——— of the gentlemen, clergy, &c. of the county of Cheſter, ib.
——— of Stockport ib.
——— of the gentlemen, tradeſmen, &c. of Mancheſter ib.
——— of the mayor, bailiffs, &c. of Liverpool ib.
——— of the gentlemen, merchants, &c. of Liverpool 277
——— of the merchants, and traders of Lancaſter ib.
——— of James Buchanan, in behalf of the miniſters, &c. of Glaſgow ib.
——— of the gentlemen, clergy, &c. of the county of Cheſter 278

Petition of the gentlemen, clergy, of Stockport 278
——— of the gentlemen, tradeſmen, &c. of Mancheſter ib.
——— of the gentlemen, callicoe printers, &c. of Blackburne 279
——— of ſeveral manufacturers, of ſail-cloth of Warrington, &c. ib.
——— of the merchants and manufacturers of Preſton ib.
——— of the gentlemen, merchants, &c. of Liverpool 280
——— of the mayor, bailiffs, &c. of Liverpool ib.
——— of the tallow-chandlers and ſoap-boilers of Lancaſter ib.
——— of the merchants and traders of Lancaſter 281
——— of James Buchanan, in behalf of the merchants, &c. of Glaſgow ib.
——— of the gentlemen, tradeſmen, &c. of Mancheſter ib.
——— of the merchants and manufacturers of Preſton ib.
——— of James Buchanan, in the name of the merchants, &c. of Glaſgow ib.
——— of ſeveral perſons of Bridport, Beamiſter, Broadwindſor, &c. 282
——— of the tallow-chandlers of London ib.
——— of gentlemen, merchants, &c. of Lancaſter ib.
——— from the chandlers and ſoapmakers of Briſtol 283
——— of the glaſs manufacturers of Briſtol ib.
——— of the ſugar refiners of London 284
——— of the manufacturers of glaſs in London ib.
——— of the mayor, aldermen, &c. of the city of Exeter ib.
Pitt, Mr. laments the baneful influence that prevails over the councils of this country 153
Pitt, Mr. T. thinks it very immaterial whether the commiſſioners be nominated by the Crown or the Houſe 50
Pownall, Gov. abhors the idea of employing Indian ſavages in our wars 10
——— conſiders an Indian war as the unreſtrained effuſion of the paſſions of revenge and blood-thirſtineſs 11
——— ſhews the reſtraints the Indians were under when employed in the laſt war 12
——— thinks that the neceſſity of employing Indians may be avoided 13
——— riſes to ſtate the origin and progreſs of the treaty, between France and America 138
——— reads part of a memorial delivered by the American commiſſioners to the court of France 139
——— animadverts on the further progreſs of that buſineſs 141
——— laments the loſs of a favourable opportunity that offered of ſettling the American diſputes 143
——— ſhews the artful conduct of the French in their negotiations with the Americans 144
——— recapitulates the different acts of the American Congreſs 145
——— ſtates the little probability there is of the Americans ever giving up their independency ib.
——— propoſes enlarging the powers of our American commmiſſioners 146
——— conſiders it as more the intereſt of America to form commercial connexions with us than with the French 147
——— argues in defence of American independency 148
——— ſtates the time when England was without a miniſter 149
——— propoſes ſuch meaſures as he thinks ought to be adopted 150